

Ghali. portrait of the week by George Bahgory.....p.8

16 Pages

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Moussa: No to Israeli peace

EGYPT will not accept and will actively oppose an Israe-li peace in the Middle East, or any other arrangement incompatible with "a balanced peace", asserted Foreign Minister Amr Moussa in an interview with *Al-Ahram*'s London corespondent Amr Abdel-Samie, the full text of which appears in today's Al-

Moussa, who was interiewed while in the British capital to take part in a conference on peacemaking in the Middle East, also said in the interview that the Palestinian problems should be considered "unresolved" so long as the Palestinians have not been granted to right to self-determination.

warned against "any meas-ures" that may be taken against Syria in order to put pressure on it vis a vis the peace process.

Moussa reasserted Egypt's position on a Washingtonleaked report alleging Egypt was receiving Scud missile materials from North Korea. "The Scud issue can be raised only in the context of opening the full file of Israeli missiles and anti-ballistic missiles," he said. Describing Israel stockpiling of traditional and nuclear weapons as "unacceptable. Moussa warned that so long as Israel maintains this stockpile. an arms race in the region. including nuclear arms, is in-

Hunt goes on THE US has offered a re-

ward of up to \$2 million for ormation leading to th ,1 of those responsible for the blast that killed 19 Americans in Saudi Arabia last week, supplementing a \$2.6 million reward offered by the Saudis.

The Pentagon, meanwhile, denied assertions that Saudi officials had rejected requests to expand a key securily zone - a move which might have reduced the numher of casualties in the explosion at the US military hous-

ing complex.
The Clinton administration said it was sending FBI Director Louis Freeh to Saudi Arabia to help with in-vestigations. US intelligence officials said they were working on the assumption that the bombers had help from other countries. The Washington Post quoted the officials as saying they had sketchy information about identified persons who had carried out extensive surveillance operations on several US military housing sites before the bombing.

Shar'a shuttle

SYRIA has succeeded in persunding Bahrain and Iran in end their hostile media cumpaigns against each other in a first step towards a remption of normal relations

tween the two Gulf states. rian Foreign Minister Fa-roug Al-Shar a said on Tues-Jay at the end of a second simple mission to Iran and Hahrain this week, that he was satisfied with both aides determination to clear up their differences.

Relations between the two countries deteriorated last menth when Bahmin openly seemed from of financing and arming militant groups plotting to overthrow the Sunni Muslim regime. Both countries recalled am-bassadors and Iran denied the charges.

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David Blake: Africa

As the United States threatens to veto the reappointment of Boutros Ghali as UN secretary-general. Africa stands firmly behind him. Hoda Tawfik from

New York and Gamai Nkrumah from Cairo report

for Ghali

Staff at the United Nations are naturally reticent about the subject, but a UN source told Al-Ahram Weekly that the bottom line is that the Americans do not want to have a secretary-general who has a mind of his, or her, own. Here lies the crux of the whole matter. UN Secretary-General Boutros Ghali has a mind of his own. He may not have a hidden agenda, but he is single-

An Arab diplomatic source in New York told the Weekly, "The US wants to have a secretary-general who would be a yesman." The US wants a pupper at the helm to facilitate its foreign policy priorities and to be ready to cater to Washington's every

We think there are other people in the world more capable of pursuing the UN re-form agenda," said White House spokesman Mike McCurry earlier this week. In a press briefing yesterday. Nicholas Burns, US State Department spokesman, under-scored the US's determination to see Ghali out of the UN, by saying the US was ready to treat him [Ghali] with respect and to do what we can to make sure that the UN functions well in his remaining time in office."

The same diplomatic stource said that the US was working feverishly behind the scenes to find an acceptable African personality to put forward as a candidate against Ghali. This, the source said, is the only way the US can undermine Ghali in his own African constituency.

The world's great powers, with the notable exception of the US, stand firmly behind the UN secretary-general. "We are of the view that Boutros Ghali has done a very good job under very difficult circumsaid Canadian Premier Jean Chretien. "Everyone knows the esteem and friendship that I and all the Europeans have for the secretary-g President Jacques Chirac added.

There are two conflicting theories gaining circulation in the UN regarding the future of the beleaguered secretary-general. The first claims that the Americans are in reality rather reticent about their apparent resolve to oust Boutros Ghali. The insinuation is that their bark is worse than their bite. Perhaps, therefore, if US President Bill Clinton is re-elected, then some face-saving solution will be arrived at whereby the Americans will suffer Boutros Ghali for another two years in office until a more complying personality is selected

as a compromise. The second theory is that the Americans are pretty serious about their intention of denying Boutros Ghali a chance to be reinstated. According to this theory, the

Americans will make sure, come what may, that a more suitable candidate will be chosen to replace Ghali. It is this second theory that is fast gaining ground in New York. However, there are several sturnbling blocks. The most important of these is that, hitherto, a system of rotation has been applied by which a particular region has a UN secretary-general staying in of-fice for two terms. So far Africa is the only region that has not had a UN secretary-general serving for two terms. If Boutros Ghali stays on in office, then an African would have held the post for two six-year periods. But, if he is not reelected, then another African candidate might be selected by the Americans to replace him. The big question is who would that African be?

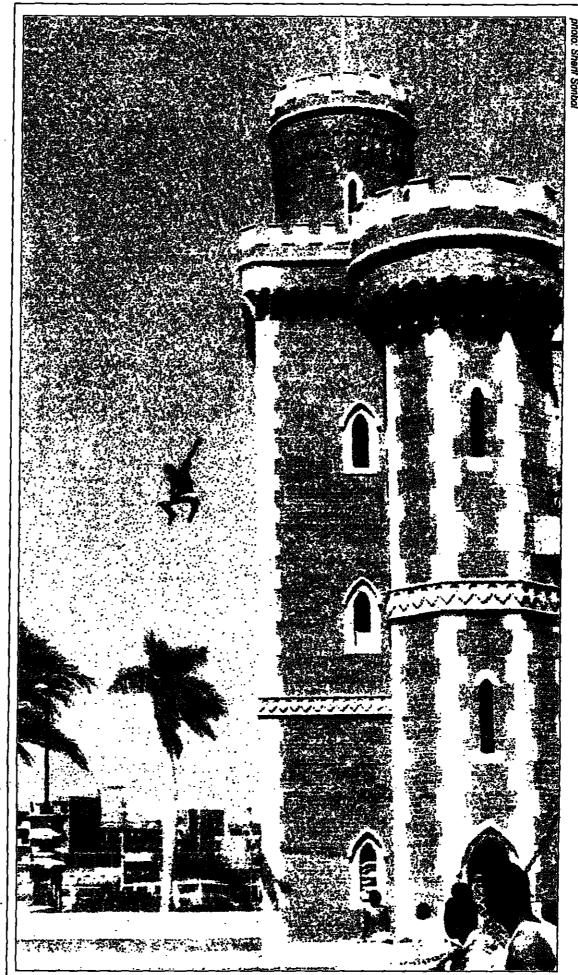
The person whose name has been most often mentioned at the UN as a prospective candidate for the position is the Ghanaian Kofi Annan, the head of the UN's peacekeeping operations worldwide. Annan is the most probable compromise candidate for several reasons. Annan, unlike most other prospective candidates such as Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland, Irish President Mary Robinson and UN High Commissioner for Refugees Sadako Ogata, is seen as a skilled bureaucrat and, most importantly,

not a man with strong views.

The self-effacing and business-like Annan is a favourite of the Americans. He has many admirers in London and in Washington. Ghali, Ogata, Brundtland and Robinson are all seen as egotistic and opinionated. Annan is an Anglophone. Ghali, despite his impeccable English, has always been seen in both London and Washington as a Francophone at heart.

Brundtland, a former head of the UN Enironment Commission, and Robinson who took herself out of the running when she issued an official statement last week stating that she does not want the post, are ruled out because three of the six UN secretary-generals to date have been European. Ogata might stand a better chance because she is Japanese. But Annan, as an African, stands the best chance of all.

Next week's summit meeting in Cameroon of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), which will be attended by Boutros Ghali, is expected to endorse the secretary-general's re-election bid. Some OAU member states, especially among the Anglophone nations, may be secretly sympathetic to Annan's candidacy. But diplomatic observers note that few. if any. African countries will do anything seriously undermine Boutros Ghali.



TAKING THE PLUNGE: As temperatures soar in Cairo, few destinations are as popular as El-Qanater, north of the city, where the towers of Muhammad Ali's barrage can serve as a convenient diving board.

Netanyahu's days

ISRAELI Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyabu reiterated his hardline peace rhetoric ahead of his visit to the White House on 9 July, and insisted there could be no peace

without security.
Speaking to his Likud-led, right-wing coalition in the Knesset yesterday, Netanyahu said that "gone is the age when Israel concedes to demands from the Arabs who have not fulfilled the basic requirements for peace-

ful relations". High on the agenda of his talks at the White House will be Israel's commitment to implementing the neace agreements concluded by the previous

Labour government. Netanyahu said he will hold talks on Friday with his cabinet, as well as army and security chiefs, on the longdelayed Israeli with-

drawal from Hebron. According to Israeli press reports, Israel's commander for the central region, Uzi Dayan, has submitted four alternative plans for redeployment, all proposing expansion of the Jewish sector of Hebron.

Netanyahu told the Foreign Press Association on Tuesday be was ready for more economic openness, but all he could offer politically was self-rule.

The Israeli daily Harret: yesterday published a long list of complaints against Palestinian President Yasser Arafat, which Netanyahu will present to US President Clinton. The list accuses the PNA of infringing on Israel's authority over the borders of the selfrule territories and in the affairs of Jerusalem. It also accuses Arafat of not doing enough to crack down on terrorism.

Palestinians had already prepared their own list of Israeli violations of the peace accords including the failure to withdraw from Hebron, release Palestinian prisoners or end the closure of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

(see editorial p.8)

Murder on the Nile?

A classic case of whodunnit continues to baffle Egyptologists: Was the boy-king Tutankhamun the victim of "murder most foul". Omayma Abdel-Latif investigates

The riddle of the Sphinx may have already been answered, but a recent revelation by two British Egyptologists about King Tutankhamun's cause of death has many experts perturbed and sceptical.

In what has taken the form of an Agatha Christie mystery — one of Christie's mysteries took place in Egypt — and using the technological equivalent of Holmesian deductive reasoning, the two British Egyptologists, pouring over X-rays of Tut's mummy, stated that the grave injury to the boy-king's skull is clearly indicative of

murder in the first degree.

Though the "whodunnit" is not clear, the cause of death, they assert, was a de-liberate blow to the head, possibly delivered while the young king was asleep.

While some Egyptologists chalked up the discovery as little more than a glorified murder mys-tery, other experts note that there is ample historical evidence to point to the fact that it could have been a political assassination.

Professor Tohfa Handoussa, head of Cairo University's Egyptology Department in the Faculty of Archaeology, stated that in the 18th Dynasty. conspiracies were rife. Since the cause of his death has aiways been shrouded in mys-tery, "it could be true that the boy-king was the victim of a she told Alconspiracy" sl Ahram Weekly.

The discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb in November 1922 by Howard Carter, coupled with the 5,000 perfectly preserved artefacts in his resting place, sparked off one of Egyptology's greatest mysteries, both about the young pharaoh's life and the times he lived in. It was, say some Egyptologists, like an old, incomplete jig-

For Egyptologists, these missing pieces provided ample "food for the little grey cells" in their search to unearth the truth about Tutankhamun's death. "It is possible that he may have been assassinated, either because he was too young to be in power,

or because Amun priests, who forced him to change his name, wanted to wipe out the Akhneten family once and for all." said Handoussa.

Historical references, including hieroglyphs found in his tomb, reveal that Tutankhamun came to power when he was nine years-old. Although he was one of Akhneten's sons — in-law, his parentage has not yet been definitely established.

At the start of his reign, he lived in Tel El-Ammanna, and was known as Tutakhneten. A stella found in the Temple of Karnak, reveals that shortly thereafter, he returned to Thebes to worship Amun, and changed his name to Tutankhamun, signifying the living image of Amun.

But according to Handoussa, this could have been where he found himself in

quick-sand, so to speak. Par for

course, ancient Egyptian royalty and the

hierarchy was as exclusive as modern roy-

alty. This, says Handoussa, may be part of the reason why Tutankhamun was killed.

Given that there is no strong evidence that

be was descended from the royal family

and his parentage was unclear, the lack of blue-blood in his veins makes the possibil-

ity of a conspiracy to assassinate him

Moreover, while the 18th Dynasty.

which lasted from 1567-1348 BC, wit-

nessed the reign of some of ancient

Egypt's most famous monarchs, such as

more likely.

Queen Hatshepsut, King Ahmose, Tutmosis I, Tutmosis III and Amenhotep III, the neriod ended with chaos ruling the day. Following Tutankhamun's death in 1352 BC, the political situation fell apart, with widespread rioting prevailing for a period of four years until Horemoheb took the throne in 1348 BC.

However, the conclusions, in the eyes of other Egyptologists, are less than elementary. Zahi Hawass, head of the Giza Plateau Antiquties Directorate, said that after Tutankamun's tomb was unearthed in 1922. Carter directed most of his research efforts to studying the mummy. However, said Hawass, no mention was made about an attempt to kill the king. These kinds of theories, he added, have a way of snowballing, "Today they claim

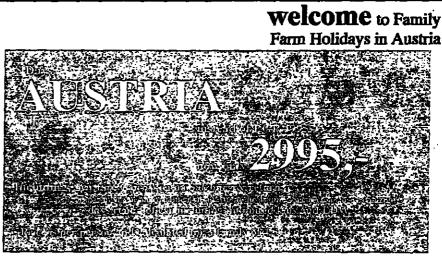
Tutankhamun was assassmated, tomorrow they might come up with the theory that Ramses II died of a heart at-

Abdel-Halim Nureddin. head of the Supreme Council of Antiquities was similarly disissive of the assassination theory. "There is no material evidence that points to the fact that he was killed. What we do know is that he died at the age of 18, but the cause of death is unknown." Several X-rays of the mummy have been taken following its discovery, he added, but until now, there has been no talk of

Nasry Iskandar, a forensic pathologist attached to the Egyptian Museum, agrees. Having analysed most of the royal mummies, Iskandar ruled out the possibility that the injury was caused by a deliberate blow to the skull.

"It's common to find that the skulls of the mummies are cracked or damaged. but this does not prove that they were murdered." he said.

Iskandar plans to begin his own studies on the decomposed mammy of the young pharaoh, which rests in a sarcophagus in his tomb in the Valley of the Kings.



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AUSTRIAN **AIRLINES**





Mubarak with Chirac at the Elysee Palace; and the next day with Sheikh Zayed in Geneva on his way back to Cairo

The France factor

President Mubarak's brief visit to France this week, close on the heels of the Cairo Arab Summit, underlined the growing significance of France's role in the region. Nevine Khalil reviews the visit

President Hosni Mubarak visited Paris for 24 hours on Monday to discuss the peace process with French President Jacques Chirac, who is seeking a greater role for Europe in the Middle East. The two presidents found much common ground regarding the current situation in the region, and the steps that should be taken to bolster peace negotiations, and the meeting represented a coming together of Arab and European positions regarding the peace process and its future after the election in Israel of right-wing Prime Minister Binyamin Ne-

Chirae and Mubarak, who led the Arabs to their first summit in six years, reviewed the outcome of the 22 June Arab summit, the G7 industrial countries meeting on 29 June in Lyon and the the European summit in Florence, a week earlier. All three meetings had discussed the peace process, and advocated the land-tor-peace formula.

After their discussions, both presidents called for the continuation of negotiations on the basis of the existing accords, within the framework of the 1991 Madrid conference. We do not want to interrupt the peace prowhole region," Mubarak told reporters after two-hour talks with Chirae on Monday night. But the principle of land-for-peace must be maintained." He said that his scheduled meeting later this month with Netanyahu would decide how negotiations would proceed.

Although Egypt appears to be turning to Europe to play a more substantial unbiased role in the peace process, the US. Egypt continues to stress, remains the main peace broker in the region. Foreign Minister Amr Moussa denied reports of tensions between Egypt and US, saying that the US's role as "an honest broker, helping both sides to reach a solution", must continue.

Chirac's France had already underlined its renewed interest in the Middle East and the peace process when Paris helped broker a ceasefire between Israel and Lebanese Hizbullah guerrillas in April. Mubarak described France's stand on the peace process as "very strong", while Chirac said that his views and analyses of the situation were very similar to Mubarak's.

During his visit to Cairo in May, Chirac committed Europe to expanding its role in the peace process. "Europe cannot only be a financier," he said. "It must increase its political input so that it will become one of the sponsors." He added

that he hoped to give France's Middle East pol-

icy "a new vitality".

Contacts for Mubarak's visit began before the EU summit two weeks ago — sufficient time for France "to fully comprehend the Arab position," especially that of frontline states in the negotiations, according to Osama El-Baz, Mubarak's political advisor. "Egypt attaches much importance to the French stand, and we understand that France has played a major role in crystallising the European view," he said. Chirac told reporters that the final statements at the three summits show "the collective will supporting the

Egypt, meanwhile, applauded the EU and G7 communiqués which supported the land-for-peace formula as a principle for resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict. The communiqués called upon all parties in the Middle East to carry out their obligations under the peace process, saying that a comprehensive peace in the region could only be achieved on the basis of the principles

of the Madrid conference and UN resolutions. The peace process cannot continue unless the land-for-peace principle is adopted." Moussa said. He told reporters in Paris: "Egypt, Arab states and the European countries are participating in a positive way towards building

Minister of Information Safwat El-Sherif said that Egyptian-French coordination was a symbol of Arab-European coordination since Mubarak was speaking on behalf of the Arab nations, and Chirac for the Europeans. "This meeting is the cornerstone for Arab-European coordination." El-Sherif added. Egypt's Ambassador to Paris Ali Maher underscored the importance of Egyptian diplomacy at this time, to face the challenges and obstacles him-

dering the peace process.

Mubarak also met with the head of France's Jewish community, Henri Hajdenberg whom he reportedly told that the peace process must continue because its completion is the best way of ensuring Israeli security".

On his way back to Cairo on Tuesday, Mubarak stopped over for a few hours in Geneva to meet with the United Arab Emirates president. Sheikh Zayed Al-Nahyan, to discuss the situation in the Middle East and the results of the Cairo and the Paris meetings. Before leaving for Cairo, Mubarak also met with UN Secretary-General Boutros Ghali.

Opposition editor attacked newspaper Al-Shaab, has the journalist seething and Interior Minister Hassan El-Alfi investigating. Amira Howeldy reports

Last Monday's attack on Magdi Hussein, the editor of the Islamist

Al-Shaab, the mouthpiece of the Islamistthe attack on its editor, Magdi Hussein, by unidentified culprits.

Twenty-four hours after the incident, the Press Syndicate issued a statement condemning the attack which "raises various questions in the minds of journalists". The statement pointed that the incident is the second of its kind, vith the first being when the editor of Al-Wald newspaper. Gamal Badawi, fell victim to a similar attack in May 1995. The police has not yet

arrested the perpetrators.

The statement warned that "turning a blind eye to such incidents, without arresting those

With its headline reading, "A barbarous attack who committed them, is an unprecedented, on Al-Shaab's editor", last Tuesday's edition of dangerous and unique phenomenon that dangerous and unique phenomenon that threatens the freedom of society and the seoriented Labour party, devoted its front page curity of its individuals more than it threatens and subsequent column inches in other pages to the freedom of the press and safety of the re-

> According to Al-Shaab's report of the incident, the 45-year old editor was attacked and severely beaten on Monday at 1.30 in the afternoon by seven "body-builder" types, which the paper alleged were civilian-clothed security men. The attack took place as Hussein stopped at a traffic light close to the Al-Shaub and Labour Party offices in Sayeda Zeinab. The seven men, claimed the report, came out of two cars which had been tailing Hussein from the moment he left his home in Manyal El-Roda across the Nile.

When Hussein's car stooned at the traffic light, one of the two cars carrying the security forces sped past, cut in front of it and reversed into it. In a matter of seconds the seven men got out of their cars, pulled Hussein from his car, and "se-

verely beat him after pushing him to the ground. They broke his glasses and stole his suitcase and car keys before speeding away in their cars, with two motorcycles clearing the road ahead," reported Al-Shaab. This lead story was published alongside two large photos of a bruised and blood-stained Hussein lying in hospital.

The newspaper also mentioned that this attack was subsequent to several death threats Hussein received over the phone over the past few weeks. The threats, the paper noted, came after Al-Shaub published a series of "documented" stories accusing the two sons of interior Minister Hassan El-Alfi of misusing their father's authority for various business gains.

A source in the Interior Ministry's Information Centre told the Weekly that the minister was "very disturbed" at hearing of the attack and immediately formed a task force drawn from the ranks of the Cairo Bureau of the State Security Investigations (SSI), to investigate the incident. The source, however, pointedly remarked that after Hussein was attacked, he "refused" to lodge a formal complaint with the police, as would any victim. Asked whether El-Alfi will answer Hussein's accusations, the source said it was "very unlikely."

Meanwhile, the Labour party's legal consultant Helmi Murad told the Weekly that Hussein will file a law suit against El-Alfi's sons demanding an investigation into the sources of their "massive fortune." Hussein, on the other hand, said that he intends to seek a meeting with President Hosni Mubarak so that the president can "intervene to stop these attacks on journalists."

Hussein views this recent attack as a warning by El-Alfi to end the campaign against his two sons but, he said, "I will not stop. I'll continue, whatever the price" he told the Weekly.

Responding to questions on why he did not lodge a complaint with the police. Hussein argued that "the issue has become a political, not a legal one... and how can I turn to the same authorities [for help] that I accuse of attacking me?"

He admitted that although he sustained physical injuries, the incident has "served" him very "We can now simply call for the removal of El-Alfi as we did with former Interior Minister, Zaki Badr," he said.

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Water everywhere...

In many homes throughout Egypt gallons of water are wasted every day through leaks and inefficient plumbing. It is estimated that 50 per cent of Egypt's available potable water is lost before it can be used: 15 per cent is lost from the water networks before reaching the consumer; the remaining 35 per cent either seeps under bathroom and kitchen floors, drips un-heeded from leaking taps, or is flushed away in over-large lavatory cisterns.

This is waste that the nation can ill afford; the internationally recognised minimum annual water requirement per in-dividual is calculated at 1,000 cubic metres. In Egypt, the average share is only 935 cubic metres. And, while the population will have risen considerably by the year 2000, the amount of potable water available will remain at 1990 levels — 3.1

billion cubic metres per year. But while these figures seem grim, there is an obvious solution - if the water which is currently lost was saved, it would go a long way towards providing the population, including those who currently do not have water piped into their homes, with their water requirements for the 21st century. To this end, a pioneering project by the National Community Water Conservation Programme (NCWCP) is raising awareness of the seriousness of the situation, and offering simple, practical ways to save water in the home and public places.

A study carried out at the Mogamma government building in Cairo's Tahrir Square demonstrated the extent of the problem. During the period between midnight and 4am, when the building was unoccupied, 80 per cent of the water initially present in pipes and lavatories was lost. After carrying out repairs on seven of the Mogamma's 13 floors, water loss was re-

duced by 30 per cent. The NCWCP's initial project concentrated on the governorates of Cairo, Ismailia and Suez, and implemented 100 small schemes in these areas, the largest of which was the distribution of 100,000 plastic water displacement bags. When put

Zeinab Abul-Gheit reports on an original project aimed at conserving precious water

into lavatory cisterns, these bags take up

space equivalent to two litres of water,

saving an equivalent amount every time the lavatory is flushed. "Through low-cost technology, this programme aims at mak-ing people realise that it is possible to save water, explained Mohamed Mahmoud, head of the NCWCP's information centre. According to studies, the ideal capacity for a lavatory cistern is 6-7 litres; the average capacity of an Egyptian lavatory cis-tern, however, ranges between 8-12 litres. It is estimated that each household using the bag will save 40 litres per day. Overall, the bags should save two million cubic metres of water annually, enough to provide 10,000 families with running water.
To promote self-sufficiency, the project insisted that the bags be made in Egypt, although the costs were higher. "Egyptian money should be put into Egyptian products," argued Mahmoud. As a result of the scheme's success, another million bags will be produced to be distributed in seven

Water conservation is a cost effective policy. It costs the Cairo Governorate 46 plastres to purify one cubic metre of water, only 10 piastres of which is passed on to the consumer. Therefore, it has been calculated that the 100,000 water displacement bags have actually saved LE1 million. "Our aim was to make people recognise that a small plastic bag could save millions of pounds," explained Isam Nada, of the Community Action Coordination leam, a group affiliated to the project. "Saving drinking water means saving money," added Mahmoud. "The money saved here should be used to provide water pipes for the 30 per cent of Cairo that

governorates in the next stage of the pro-

do not have running water." According to Ashraf Nassar, an engineer

working in the field of industry and development, there are many other ways — in addition to being leak-free — that new technology can help save water. One sim-ple example is a shower head made with fewer holes, each with a smaller diameter. The new shower head provides ten litres of water every minute, in comparison to the 25-30 litres from an old-style shower. Taps can also be made more efficient if their copper core is replaced with ceramic material, and proper washers can reduce waste by 30 per cent. Spring-loaded taps, and metred taps providing between 0.50-2 litres of water in 30 seconds, are also products of the new technology. Used in public facilities in Suez, such taps have saved 15,000 cubic metres a year, Nassar said. This saving, he added, would be sufficient to provide running water to 55

To ensure that new systems are properly installed and existing ones efficiently maintained, the project recognised the need for a well trained force of plumbers. To this end the project came up with a system for licensing plumbers, which has now been approved by the Ministry of Manpower. In addition, the Ministry of Reconstruction, industrial schools and companies are now running training courses in plumbing for unemployed graduates.

Promoting public awareness is another vital part of the project's work. The programme has gone out into the community promote itself through mosques, churches and social groups. Conservation groups have been formed in 4,500 schools in Cairo. Cooperation agreements have been reached between the programme and tourist villages, with technical advice provided and new plumbing specifications agreed upon. Symposiums and meetings have been held in local councils, and nongovernmental organisations have agreed to promote water conservation awareness. Water conservation programmes have been successfully implemented in public institutions like hospitals, churches, mosques and schools.

Egypt-US relations: 'differences not crisis'

President Mubarak denied there was a crisis in Egyptian-US relations, despite differences in views on several regional issues. Khaled Dawoud reports

President Hosni Muharak's statements this week, denying a reported crisis in relations between Egypt and the United States, confirmed that Cairo was not seeking an escalation of its differences with Washington over the future of the Arab-Israeli peace process and the armament situation in the In earlier statements, Foreign Minister Ann Moussa told

reporters, "I cannot describe Egyptian-American relations as ternse or stiff. But there are points of difference concerning the evaluation of certain issues related to the peace process and other matters". He added that such differences in views "were mormal in international relations" and also existed between the United States and Israel.

Reports of an Egyptian-American dispute immediately followed the amouncement of the convening of the Arab summit in Cairo, after a meeting between President Mubarak, Syrian President Hafez Al-Assad and Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah Bin Abdel-Aziz in Damascus in

mid-June.

US State Department officials were not discreet in expressing their dismay that the summit was going to take place immediately after the tight victory of Israeli right-wing Premier Binyamin Netanyahu. An American official who accomplanied US Secretary of State Warren Christopher on his visit to Israel and Egypt last week told the tight with the US administration would have Al-Ahram Weekly that the US administration would have preferred the summit next to have taken place. "The statement issued by Egypot, Syria and Saudi Arabia after their meeting in Damascu's could have been enough to express their worries afte; the change of government in

Israel," the official said.

Reporters who accompanie d Christopher on his tour of the region quoted him as saying that the American administration was not satisfied with all the statements included in the Arab leaders' a final communique released on 23 June at the end of their two day meeting in Cairo. He described the communique as a general document, reflecting a variety of views ranging from those of radical Arab countries such as Libya and Sudam to the conservative oil rich Culf and Sudam to the conservative

oil-rich Gulf states. Following his talks with Mubarak: in Cairo last week.
Christopher reiterated the American view that all efforts should be directed towards resuming negotiations between the Arabs and Israel. "All that we are saying is that the parties should sit together and talk about their differences," US State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns told reporters last week.

During his visit to Paris on Monday, Mubarak said be would not reach any conclusions on the future of the peace process until meeting Netanyabu in Cairo after the Israeli premier's visit to Washington this week. Mubarak is also due to meet US President Bill Clinton in late July.

But the American dissatisfaction over the Arab summit was not only limited to official statements. One day before

the opening of the Arab summit, on 21 June, the Washington Times published a "leaked" CIA report saying Egypt had purchased advanced Scud C missile materials from North Korea, violating US laws on weapons proliferation.

During the peak of the dispute between Egypt and israel last year over Cairo's insistence that Tel Avily should also sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and open its nuclear installations to international inspection, the United States stood firmly behind its "strategic ally" is n its rejection of the state.

Annoyed by the first which Egypt caused over, the matter, and its lobbying of Arab countries to join its starfid, the response was a series of similarly "leaked" CIA I reports. The reports quoted US officials as expressing their dismay over Egypt's maintaining of relations with Libya, and l accusing Cairo of breaking the UN embargo imposed on Tripoli for its alleged involvement in the Lockerbie bombining in 1988, which killed 270 people. A series of reports also appeared in American newspapers, containing allegations of f corruption against several Egyptian senior government officials. The leakage of reports, however, stopped when the arrisis over the treaty was over.

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Egypt, by now adept at being the object of such American campaigns, decided to ignore the latest Scud-C figurore. But Israel did not. Israeli Foreign Minister David Lettery expressed concern over reports of the deal, while Israeli teletrosision's Channel Two added its own touch to the affair, claiming that Egypt had also bought Scud missile launchers from Slovenia. The Slovenian government immediately a issued a statement saying that as it did not possess Scud C massissiles, it

was hardly in a position to sell Scud launchers.

Asked if Christopher's visit had cleared up the man ter of the reported North Korean deal, a senior Egyptian dip domat told the Weekly: "You should ask the Americans if this matter is over. They were the ones who raised it in the first place." He added that Fernet's elegant made as the first place." He added that Egypt's clear stand on the issue that if there was going to be any discussion on armame the region, it should include all types of weapons, inclu the weapons of mass destruction and highly sophistical nuclear weapons possessed by Israel."

Cairo currently receives a total of \$2.1 billion per year aid from the United States. The close relationship between the two countries since the mid-70s has had a major imp in the region, particularly during the 1990 Gulf War and convincing Arab parties to take part in the opening of the Madrid peace conference in 1991.

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A palace for all children

Within the framework of an ambitious plan adopted by the General Organisation for Cultural Palaces (GOCP) in conjunction with the Cabinet's Information Centre, Mrs Suzanne Mubarak last week inaugurated the first specialised cultural palace for handicapped and non-handicapped children. Rania Khallaf re-

The bi-level palace offers children a variety of services in-cluding a small workshop for plastic arts, science clubs, theatre, pupper shows, a library and musical activities. Also part of the centre is a computer club which provides the children with spe-

cialised training and use of the Internet.

Praising the efforts exerted in establishing this unique project,

Mrs Mubarak said that the cultural palace "includes everything I could have dreamed of for handicapped children." The new palace also bouses a special library and studio, stocked with stateof-the-art equipment for recording songs and stories for blind children. These studios, she added, will also be used to produce special cassettes for handicapped children. Mrs Mubarak recommended that these tapes be distributed to different cultural palaces in various governorates.

Commenting on the project, Hussein Mahran, head of the GOCP, said that the new centre is part and parcel of the Reading For All festival sponsored by Mrs Mubarak. This new cen-

tre, he added, will provide children with the proper environment under which they can nurture and develop their skills and talents. The palace, said Mahran, is an integrated information centre that encompasses all activities related to the needs of children and is linked to other specialised children's cultural

palaces throughout the country.

"This will belp encourage children to perform their music shows in other palaces," be said. To belp the children learn how to use the equipment there will be several highly-qualified train-

The GOCP, said Mahran, plans to establish a new children's cultural palace every year to help meet the "cultural" requirements of Egyptian children. New, specialised cultural palaces are currently being built in the governorates of Menoutlya, Sohag, Menya, Qena, Qaliobiya, Kafr Al-Sheikh and Beheira.

At the inauguration of this centre, Mrs Mubarak attended a pupper show staged by handicapped and mentally challenged children. Fatma El-Ma'dul, the director of the palace and producer of the show, said that the palace offers talented, handicapped children an excellent opportunity to participate in plays and concerts. By engaging in these activities alongside other children, handicapped children will be able to lead a more stable life, she said.



Intellectual honours

The state's annual merit and incentive awards for achievement in literature, the arts and social science have been met — for the first time in years — with approval. Amira Howeldy applauds the winners

"I was very happy, not because I got one myself, but because it is the first time in 30 or 40 years that three women have received the state's merit awards," recipient Latifa El-Zayyat told Al-Ahram Weekly upon the an-nouncement of the state's 1995 annual Merit and Incentive Awards for distinguished achievement in literature, the arts and social science.

True enough, the honours, first awarded in 1960 and marked by a gold medal and LE5,000, had, in recent years, gained the reputation of ignoring women and currying favour with officialdom.

Candidates for the merit awards are nominated by

universities, the Arabic Language Academy and other literary and artistic societies. Candidates for the incentive awards nominate themselves. Two years ago, the Higher Cultural Council, the body af-filiated to the Ministry of Culture which chooses the final recipients, announced that it was raising the value of the award from LE5,000 to LE25,000 in response to criticism of their low amount. However, the rise has not been passed on to this year's award

According to Gaber Asfour, head of the Higher Cultural Council, the decision was drafted into a law that has not yet been passed by the People's Assembly. "It's out of our hands now," he told the Weekly. "Perhaps the People's Assembly had more important laws to deal with, like the press law."

In literature, this year's merit awards went to prominent Islamic advocate and TV personality, Mustafa Mahmoud, aged 75, novelist Latifa El-Zayyat, aged 73, and critic Badawi Tabana. The arts award went to film director Henry Barakat and painter Tahia Halim. Aisha Rateb, professor of in-ternational law and former minister of social affairs, social scientist Said Ashour, historian Yunan Labib Rizq and professor of philosophy Fuad Zakaria won the social science awards. Recipients of 16 in-centive awards included prominent musician Ahmed El-Saedi and cartoonist Mona Abul-Nasr. .

Labib Rizq Latifa El-Zayyat Aisha Rateb, generally accepted as Egypt's most popular social affairs minister, is a professor at Cairo University and was Egypt's first woman ambassador. As minister for a seven-year stretch, her policies, oriented towards reinforcing women's status and community service, often stirred controversy. In 1977 she resigned from office in protest at the late President Anwar El-Sadat's summary dismissal of the food nots of January of that year as a "thieves' uprising". Rateb returned once again to the academic fold, where she had been the first woman on the international law staff of Cairo University's Faculty of Law and the first woman on the

> Tahia Halim is best known for her prolific paintings inspired by Nubia, which she visited many times before it was submerged under the Aswan High Dam. The themes of most of Halim's work are derived from Egyptian folklore, creating what critics consider a unique school of art. In 1959 she opened the School of Painting, and in 1969 she received the state's incentive award for her painting "More than stone". In celebration of the artist's work, El-Gomhouriya National Theatre last month

Faculty's council. Her published works include The

23rd of July Revolution and International Arab Re-

staged a play about her life story.

Philosopher and prominent writer, Fuad Zakaria was flung from the ivory towers of academia into the political lime light in the early seventies when he wrote a series of articles attacking Nasserist authoritarianism after Sadat's Corrective Revolution. Zakaria pursued this trend when he answered Mohamed Hassanein Heikal's Autumn of Fury criticism of Sadat's 1981 arrest campaign) in his book Furious for how long? Although Zakaria has written extensively on German philosophy and the modern schools of philosophy, he is more famous for his political views and his public debates, especially his discussions with leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood at the Doctors' Syndicate. Zakaria was also editor of Fehr Mu'asser (Contemporary Thought), the only Arab magazine specialising in social and philosophical issues.

Henry Barakat

Mustafa Mahmoud is a graduate of Cairo University's School of Medicine, and a specialist in chest diseases. He turned to journalism in 1957 and became one of the most prolific authors of his time, writing over 30 novels, short stories and plays in addition to hundreds of articles and many books which reflected his famous shift from existential atheism to

Mahmoud is perhaps best-known for his TV programme, broadcast in Egypt and in many parts of the Arab world, in which be tries to explain the links between modern science and Islamic docotrine. He is famous also for the mosque and hospital he established in Mohandessin in 1975 which carry his name. Thousands of people visit the mosque, particularly at feast times.

Henry Barakat has directed memorable films such as Afwah We Araneb (Mouths and Rabbits) and Al-Haram (The Forbidden). He directed his first documentary film, Traffic In Alexandria, in 1939, and his first feature film Always in My Heart in 1946. Writer, literary critic and professor of English lite-

ratre Latifa El-Zayyat was raised in a family of nationalists, and began her political activities as an English literature student at Cairo University. Her long history of political commitment, stretching from university demonstrations in 1946 to her imprisonment under Sadat's sweeping arrest campaign in 1981, earned her the reputation of an activist intellectual. El-Zayyat has also remained active as head of the Committee for the Defence of National Culture, which is currently lobbying against normalisation with Israel and the formation of a Middle East market. El-Zayyat's latest work, Search Campaign — Personal Papers was published in 1994. According to prominent critic Ali El-Razi, El-Zayyat "has always been aftire with energy". Her award was long overdue, he added.

"There is no doubt that this years' awards are enerally - far better than in previous years'," El-Raai told the Weekly. "It is also an indication that the selection process is working well." While describing the choice of three women, including El-Zayyat, as "very pleasing", he believes the selection process would work even better if voting procedures were changed. In his view, the direct affiliation of the bodies concerned with the nomination procedures to the Ministry of Culture has always given the ministry the right to "control" the final results.

But Asfour sees it differently. "We do not 'control' anything; we are the body which receives the nominations, goes through the bio-data of the nominees and then transfers them to the voting com-

The committee includes such prominent figures as

Naguib Mahfouz, Aisha Abdel-Rahman and Lutfi El-Kholi. However, such a committee. Asfour added, would never be able to reach a complete consensus: "There are generation gaps, cul-tural and political differences and various schools of thought, which is part of our rich cultural life. How could these people ever all agree?" Some had applauded

Mustafa Mahmoud's award, while others were disappointed. But this was only to be expected, argued Asfour, in a diverse society where some people even consider a great laureate like Mahfouz as an infidel".

Critic Mahmoud Amin El-Alem, while agreeing that the selection was an improvement on previous years, maintained that this year's selection "should have been better". The Higher Cultural Council, he said, should not have followed the habit of "balancing the award winners" - selecting both secularists and Islamists, for example. However, he hailed Fuad's Zakaria's selection as a "genuine appreciation" of the man.

Two years ago the awards came under fire in the national press because some of them had gone to cabinet ministers and other official figures, in what seemed to be exercises in back-slapping and flattery. Compared to the early years of the awards in the six-

ties - 'the golden age of modern Egyptian culture' — when the honours went to people such as Zaki Naguib Mahmoud, Abdel-Rahman El-Sharqawi and

But this year's prizes might be an attempt to restore the golden age of the state's merit and incentive awards, especially as most of the recipients are at the peak of their careers. "We are in a strange transitional era" says El-Alem, "where things are changing and unclear, but we have every reason to

Edited by Wadie Kirolos

Al-Ahram

Chronicle

Al-Ahram: A Diwan of contemporary life

On Thursday, 15 March 1900, seven of- dle class origin. ficers of the Egyptian army were brought, under heavy guard, into the main reception hall in Abdin Palace, where they remained standing until Khedive Abbas Helmi II appeared. After a short time, His Royal Highness entered into the company of the minister of war, the deputy sirder of the Egyptian army and a number of senior generals. The castigation the khedive delivered to these officers marks the conclusion of a relatively unknown chapter in

Egyptian history.

He told them, "I summoned you before me today in order to inform you of my grave distress at your deeds. You have brought disgrace to the Egyptian army and you have therefore been expelled from the military service in which you are no longer fit to serve. I have issued the orders to strip you of your ranks and medals so that it may be known that I always support the sirdar and approve of everything he has done to improve the system of the Egyptian army."

The seven officers so castigated were captains Mahmoud Effendi Mukhtar and Hassan Effendi Labib, first lieutenants Mustafa Effendi Lutfi, Saleh Effendi Zaki and Mohamed Effendi Tawfiq, and second lieutenants Ahmed Effendi Shaker and

Abdel-Hamid Effendi Shukry.
This "occurrence" to which the khedive referred had preoccupied public opinion over the previous two months. However, before learning the nature of this "occurrence," we must review the circumstances that prevailed during the last year of the 19th century.

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After the Anglo-Egyptian expedition succeeded in recapturing Sudan, most of the Egyptian army was relocated to Omdurman in northern Sudan. Organised in a manner that would guarantee the British the greatest control, the army consisted of soldiers of Sudanese or Egyptian peasant origin, junior officers from the Egyptian middle class and senior officers, mostly British with a minority from Egypt's Turk-

ish aristocracy.

Hardly had the British regained Sudan than they entered the Boer War in South Africa, or the Transvaal War as Al-Ahram referred to it. After numerous setbacks, the British decided to call in Lord Kitchener of Khartoum, who had been sindar of the Egyptian army. Kitchener's success the campaign to bring down the Mahdist regime were considered to have given him extensive expertise in the art of military conflict in the African arena. Concurrent with these developments was

the nascent Egyptian nationalist movement which gained momentum after Mustafa Kamel began publication of Al-Liwa (The Banner) in January 1900. Al-Liwa taunched a vehement campaign against the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium Agreement of 1889 and on 19 January, the newspaper appeared wreathed in black to mourn the first anniversary of this agreement. The newspaper's campaign had a profound effect on public opinion, particularly on those mid-level officers of Egyptian mid-

Against this background, we turn to the "occurrence" that precipitated the discharge of seven Egyptian officers.

We get our first glimpse of the story in Al-Ahram of 2 February 1900. Al-Ahram's article is based on reports that appeared in three other national newspapers. It first cit-ed a report that appeared in Al-Muqattam under the headline "Soldiers' mutiny" to the effect that the Ministry of War had issped orders to strip Egyptian army soldiers stationed in Omdurman of their arms. After refusing to comply at first, two Su-danese battalions eventually turned in their weapons. Le Progrès Egyptien's version, cited in Al-Ahram, was slightly different. Le Progrès reported that soldiers in Omdurman had violated military regulations, provoking army officers to take the pre-caution of ordering them to hand in their weapons. Two battations refused at first and then complied. According to the Egyptian Gazette, however, the officers ordered the soldiers to hand in their weapons because the weapons themselves were defective and had caused several unfortunate accidents. At first the soldiers of the two Sudanese battalions misinterpreted the orders as a sign of mistrust, even though they eventually complied without incident.

Al-Ahram then offered its own version

of the incident: "When we reported this news about stripping the soldiers of their arms a little over a month ago, we only made scant mention of it because intelligence sources denied it. However, people who have recently arrived from Sudan inform us that rancour has not only assailed the hearts of the Sudanese battalions, but soldiers and officers in the whole of the Egyptian army. It is little wonder that such anger and resentment have mounted. The British had taken their arms from Omdorman and sent them via Cairo to the Cape of Good Hope. This is

the secret behind stripping the Egyptian soldiers in Sudan of their weapons, weapons that are not the property of the British but of the Egyptian crown."

That Al-Ahram put its finger on the true cause behind the "incident of the soldiers" is supported by the private inners of Sir is supported by the private papers of Sir Reginald Wingate, who had just taken up office as governor-general of Sudan only a month earlier. Wingate relates that, on 28 January 1990, the 14th battalion of the Egyptian army had rioted and raided an arms depot in Omdurman. The only way the British commanders could re-exert their control was to threaten that a large British force was on its way to the Sudanese capital to suppress them. According to Wingate, Egyptian officers in the Sudanese battalion had incited the rioting, in protest against the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium Agreement of 1899, against pay reductions and against rumours that, after their victory in Sudan.

they would be transferred to South Africa to take part in the Boer War. Al-Ahram's suspicions were further confirmed by a report by a journalist "who is



In March 1900 Khedive Abbas Helmi II ex- been stripped of the weapons for no sound pelled seven Egyptian army officers for their part in a minor mutiny in Omdurman after soldiers were stripped of their weap-

ons. In this instalment of his chronicle of modern Egyptian history as seen through the pages of Al-Ahram, Dr Yunan Labib Rizq looks at a relatively unknown chapter in Egyptian history



llustration: Makram Henein

Egypt", as the palace confidant Ahmed Shafiq wrote in his memoirs. The report, which Shafig says "distressed the khedive for several days due to the salient truths it revealed", said that the actions of the Egyptian soldiers merited praise, not punishment. They were just in their demands that their salaries should not be reduced to less than that of British officers. "Is the skin of an Egyptian worth less than the skin of an Englishman?" he asks. Moreover, the condemned soldiers did no more than to protest "the pillaging of Egyptian arms for use in South Africa. Yet you [the British] did nothing to punish the thieves!" Undoubtedly the German journalist's passionate defence of the Egyptian officers, whose names should be etched on brass plaques in commemoration of their glorious patriotic deed", was motivated by German antagonism toward the British over

Having sensed these truths, Al-Ahram's position was markedly different to that of Al-Muqattam, the Arabic-language mouthpiece for the British occupation. On 3 Febthe Soldiers", Al-Ahram commented, "Some [referring to Al-Muqattam] refer to the incident as 'mutinous', in spite of the fact that it is really a question of the sol-diers pressing for their rightful demands after entreaty and petition failed. These are the Egyptian soldiers who were victorious in Sudan. Yet they have received no promotion and no increase in pay. Then, to add insult to injury, the British commanders ordered their commanding officers to perform the ignoble task of stripping them

of their arms and ammunition." The demand for just and equitable treat-ment voiced in Al-Ahram had, in fact, been submitted in writing to the sirder by Abdel-Gawad Bey, commander of the fifth regiment. However, Abdel-Gawad was orbelieved to be a German residing in dered to retract his petition, which "deeply

distressed and embittered his fellow sol diers and colleagues".

After having fought and won an arduous battle, constructed the railroads, built the governor's palace and the officers' club, when the time came to hand out promotions and awards, the Egyptian soldiers had to stand by as others were rewarded". This sentiment, expressed in Al-Ahram. was shared by other newspapers: Al-Mu'avid, Egypt's first nationalist newspaper, and the recently launched Al-Liwa, which took the occasion to assert that the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium Agreement, which gave the British virtual control over Sudan while Egypt retained only nominal sovereignty, was little less than a Indeed, from the moment it was signed,

this arrangement for the dual administration of Sudan had precipitated growing disgruntlement among Egyptian officers stationed in Sudan. A group of them formed a secret society called Al-Muwada (Amity) that began to correspond with prominent Egyptian politicians and the khedive himself, expressing their dissatisfaction with British policy in Sudan. At the same time, the offices of Al-Mu'avid and Al-Liwa were flooded with letters complaining of the circumstances of Egyptian officers in Sudan. The information that they revealed and the fact that they were unsigned suggest that the authors were the self-same officers.

Al-Ahram unequivocally aligned itself with the nationalist position. To Al-Ahram, the "affair of the soldiers", as it insisted on referring to the incident in Omdurman, was clearly an instance of legitimate resistance. Whenever possible, it refuted allegations of mutiny, as was the case in an article that appeared on 7 February 1990: "The Egyptian soldiers and their officers in Sudan are not rebels or mutineers. They are distressed by the fact that they have

reason, leaving them soldiers without arms, as though they were children gathered in the street to play football. If we were to picture those 20,000 soldiers stripped of their arms, we ourselves would be sorely troubled. Therein lies the source of agitation, but not rebellion or mutiny."

The rift over how to interpret the incident in Omdurman reached the pinnacles of power, pitting the palace against the British high commissioner. On 10 February, Lord Cromer met with the Egyptian prime minister and asked him to advise the khedive to issue a decree declaring the Egyptian officers rebels. Abbas II refused. To Al-Ahram the British demand stank of "pure politics", to which the palace refused to yield. Instead, Abbas responded, "I have therefore asked the sirdar to relay to all officers and soldiers my command to

This formula was unacceptable to Win-

gate. He asked the high commissioner in Cairo to seek a more harshly worded decree in which the officers would be declared mutineers. Abbas yielded to British pressure and issued a second decree, which Al-Ahram described as more strongly worded than the first, although it still does not accuse the officers of mutiny". Lord Cromer was still dissatisfied, and perhaps in answer to Al-Ahram's prayers that "political manoeuvring over this issue would cease", the khedive dis-patched a telegram to the sirdar in Omdurman that would ultimately settle matters. In his telegram, the khedive expressed his regret over the fact that the re-belliousness that was exhibited by some

soldiers had not yet been resolved. He hoped that the sirdar would exercise his utmost wisdom in managing the affair and that the investigations would be conducted with exacting thoroughness. As for those officers who were charged with mutiny, they should be tried before a military tribunal in accordance with the military

In so writing according to Al-Ahram, "the khedive has deferred the accusation of mutiny to the investigatory process' which brings us to the final phase in this chapter — the trial.

After deliberations with all the regiments, it was decided to form an investigatory board made up of a majority of Egyptian officers and chaired by a British officer, Brigadier General Jackson. The board also included the commander of the fifth regiment, General Ferguson, and four Egyptian brigadiers. The composition of the board inspired confidence in Egyptian public opinion. "No doubt the sirdar was careful to compose the board in this manner, so as to convey to the army his good intentions and clear conscience," com-

mented Al-Ahram. For a period of 10 days, there was a curious silence in the press over the trial. Then on 26 February, Al-Ahram published the Special Military Order Promulgated in

This 10-day news blackout before sen-

tencing informs us both of the speed with which military trials took place and of the secrecy in which they were conducted. The ruling itself used the term "insubordination", a purely military term that fell short of accusation of "mutiny" clamoured for by the pro-occupation newspapers. It was further noted in Al-Ahram that the board's rulings "received the full approval of the government of His Royal Highness the Khedive".

The individual sentences against the officers themselves read more like a massacre. Captain Mohamed Effendi Mukhtar of the 14th Sudanese battalion was held "directly responsible for the in-subordination that occurred in his battalion, and the board unanimously rules to discharge this officer from the service of His Royal Highness the Khedive". First Lieutenant Mustafa Effendi Lutfi of the same battalion received the same sentence. However, with regard to Second Lieutenant Ahmed Effendi Shaker, the board advised clemency, "in view of his youth and inexperience'

Moving to the 11th Sudanese battalion, Captain Hassan Effendi Labib was held to be the "major offender" and therefore discharged. Corporal Bilal El-Nur was sentenced to be "stripped of his rank, placed in the disciplinary block for a period determined by His Royal Highness the Khedive and afterwards dishonourably discharged".

From the eighth infantry bantalion, First Lieutenant Saleh Effendi Zaki was discharged and Second Lieutenant Mustafa Effendi Mohamed El-Shami's name had to be "placed at the bottom of the list of senionity in the rank of second lieutenant".

Two days later, a second set of rulings was pronounced against other officers found guilty of insubordination. Captain Mohamed Effendi Helmi was put on pension and First Lieutenant Mohamed Effendi Tawfiq and second lieutenants Abdel-Hamid Effendi Shukri and Idris Effendi Abdallah were discharged.

In the wake of this incident, British army authorities had to devise measures in order to ensure discipline within the ranks. Evidently their policy of "divide and con-quer" within the army was unsuccessful. The "insubordination" proved that, even though Egyptian officers were put in charge of Sudanese regiments in the hopes that separate language and culture would keep them apart, the Sudanese soldiers obeyed their Egyptian officers when they were instructed to raid the arms depot. At the same time, the British wanted to ensure that the sentences against the officers would be a deterrent against future acts of insubordination. Hence, the khedive's summoning of the condemned officers to Abdeen to castigate them personally.

The author is a professor of history and head of Al-Ahram History Studies Centre.



Rice ban angers farmers

A government decision banning the cultivation of rice in many areas of Egypt has left farmers anxious about their future, reports Reem Leila



The Ministry of Public Works and Water Resources, in coordination with the Minamount should be sufficient for Egypt's agricultural, commercial, industrial and istry of Agriculture, issued a decree on 1 May prohibiting many areas in Egypt from cultivating rice. The ban, which will be implemented in June next year, is due to water shortages, the government says. The governorates of Sharqiya. Beheira, Kafr El-Sheikh, Damietta and Daqahliya are fully exempted from the government or-der, as are four districts in Gharbiya Govemorate - Kafr El-Zayyat, Tanta, Samanoud and El-Gharbiya — and one in Fayoum Governorate — Kom Osheem — because of the high salinity of the soil The government plans gradually to reduce rice-cultivating land to 700,000 feddans by the year 2000. Those who violate there. The decree reduces the area of ricegrowing land from 1.6 million to 900,000 feddans. The decree has been opposed by

sharp increase in rice prices. Abdel-Hadi Radi, minister of public works and water resources, told Al-Ahram Weekli that Egypt's quota of the Nile's water is 5.5 billion cubic metres. This

some on the basis that it will lead to a

ment provide about 240 million cubic metres of water for 1.6 million feddans of rice? When 9,000 square metres of water are needed per feddan, it's a massive amount of water. The government cannot afford this amount for the time being. We have to be cautious with water, because if we aren't, by the year 2025 Egypt will be suffering from a severe water shortage,"

the decree will face a fine of LE400 per feddan of illegal rice crop and 10 piastres for each cubic metre of water used to irrigate the rice. Abdel-Wahab Ghazi, head of the Irriga-

tion Department at the Ministry of Public Works and Water Resources, also explained the reasons for the ban. "Egypt's agricultural land is divided into five areas," he said. "The decree bans rice cultivation in three areas and allowes it in the rest. The present area of 1.6 million feddans is considered unnecessarily large, whereas 700,000 feddans will suit per-fectly the quantity of water coming from the High Dam."

Egypt's 1995 rice harvest was estimated at 4.8 million tons, compared to 4.5 million tons for the year before. Wholesalers and farmers expect production to decrease drastically after the new decree comes into effect. But Saad Nassar, head of the Agricultural Research Centre, which is affiliated to the Ministry of Agriculture, disagrees. Reducing the area of land cultivating rice, he said, does not mean at all that production will be reduced. The Ministry of Agriculture will increase the productivity rate of each feddan from 240 tons to nearly 344 tons by using new kinds of fertilisers, he explained.

In a visit conducted by Al-Ahram Weeklv

to Kom Osheem, one of the districts which will be affected by the ban, the farmers were unhappy. They want the new decree to be revoked. "The high price of rice helps us to pay our debts," said one farmer. "Most of the farmers take loans. Not being able to grow rice will mean all of us will suffer from the accumulated debts we owe to the Principal Bank for Development and Agricultural Credit."

Another farmer. Nasr Abdel-Fattah, claims cultivating rice is profitable, due to its high productivity rate. He sells his rice for LE1 200 a ton. "The rice stays only three months in the land, which means it is cultivated quickly," said Abdel-Fattah.
"Cotton, on the other hand, has to be left for seven months in the ground and ex-

Ibrahim Khallaf is a farmer who is worried about his land. "I cannot stop cultivating rice. The salinity of my land is very high. Cultivating rice washes the land. If I stopped, the land would be degraded," he said. For Khallaf, water shortage is not a good reason to stop cultivating rice. "I know why we are suffering from water shortages. Israel is stealing our water from the El-Salam Canal in Sinai. I beseech the government to stop this stealing so that we can cultivate our rice," he complained

Another rice cultivator, Abdel-Rahman Badawi, appeared defiant. "I will pay the LE400 fine per feddan and cultivate rice in my land," he said. "My land is very small and rice is very profitable. So why do they want me to stop cultivating rice? This is

According to Salah Abdel-Wanees of the Ministry of Agriculture the country's welfare is much more important than that of individuals'. Those banned from cuitivating rice have been told to grow maize instead. "Maize is nearly as profitable as rice, since it does not need as much water as rice," said Abdel-Wanees. "Talk about farmers not being able to pay their debts is nothing more than ridiculous arguments The farmers do not trust us. They think that the government wants to harm them which is totally untrue."

Mohsen Tawfik, an agricultural engineer, suggests that the governmen should ensure that there are areas in which cultivating rice is permitted in every governorate. If this solution is not suitable, "the government has to make use of the banned areas to cultivate other crops that

can be exported," Tawfik said.
Soliman El-Ashry, a rice wholesaler, believes that decreasing the area of land cultivated by rice will increase rice prices in the domestic market and deprive the treasury of the money gained from exporting the rice harvest's surplus. El-Ashry expects that rice prices will increase by not less than 20 per cent. The private sector will rush ahead and put huge quantities of rice into storage in order to control its price. I think the government has to find a solution to this problem," he said.

Healing textiles malaise

The deteriorating state of Egypt's textile industry remains a cause for concern to the government, and was the subject of discussion at a recent meeting of the People's Assembly's Industrial Committee, where Public Sector Minister Atef Ebeid spoke about the problems faced by 31 Egyptian textile companies.

Ebeid cited various factors as being behind the deteriorating condition of the industry: excessive dependence on bank loans — at a 17 per cent interest rate - for investment in company infrastructure: the concentration on producing low-quality subsidised cotton products; the failure to make optimum use of imported equipment; the recent rise in cotton prices, especially since today cotton accounts for 75 per cent of production inputs compared to 50 per cent in 1990; the 15-20 per cent rise in wages over the last few years; the long-time failure to compete in world markets; and the failure to keep abreast of latest developments in the

world textile industry.

According to Ebeid, privatisation will provide solutions for these problems, however he urged the committee not to expect miracles, because "the textile industry in Egypt is still not in a position to overcome these problems in a short time "

iting Agency (CAA), on the performance of seven textile companies affiliated to the Holding Company for Cotton and International Trade (HCCIT),

The report emphasised that the new liberalisation policies, especially in the agricultural sector, have left textile companies in a very difficult position in terms of severe financial imbalances due to the rising cost of cotton. According to the CAA report, rises in cotton delivery prices from an average of LE300 in 1991 to more than LE500 last season has led to a sharp increase in production costs in HCCIT's textile companies. Worse still, the lack of financial liquidity, the modest marketing capacity, a historical record of large debts owed to banks, huge unsold inventory and severe technical problems have all conspired to bring about huge

losses in six of the seven companies.

Topping the list is Establishment In-

The People's Assembly has recently turned its attention to the deteriorating state of the textile industry. Gamal Essam El-Din examines the problems and possible solutions

dustriel Pour La Soie et Le Cottonis (ESCO). According to the report, ESCO has registered total losses over the last four years amounting to a stag-gering LE219.9 million. These huge losses have resulted from ac-cumulating debts owed to banks, amounting to LE143.5 million, the failure to achieve any increase in sales due to the lack of coordination between production and marketing targets, severe technical problems resulting in the company only being able to work at 64.8 per cent of capacity, and the rise in the value of the unsold inventory to LE9.7 million.

Another loss-making company is Al-Nasr Spinning, Weaving and Knitting Company (Chourbagi). Chourbagi's losses in June 1994 hit around LE32 million, while it's overall losses over the last four years climbed to a total of LE109.6 million. The company owes The Industry Committee also re- LE19.8 million to the National In-Bonk and ventory worth LE9.5 million, while sales have declined by LE3.9 million. However, the report showed that Chourbagis' debtors list includes some private sector companies with LE3.8 million-worth of delivered goods, Iraq. which owes LE1 million, LE4.7 million owed by department stores, and LE187.000 owed by cooperative so-

A third company cited in the report is the Middle Egypt Spinning and Weaving Company, which registered losses of LE34.7 million in 1993-4, while the overall losses in the last four years amounted to LE130.7 million. Once again, the CAA attributed these losses to the huge debts owed to banks (LE174.2 million), in addition to the outdated equipment at the company's factory, and the failure to recover debts for LE88.8 million's worth of goods sold to around 12 clients in Egypt and LE4 million's worth of goods sold to Iraqi clients.

The only HCCIT company which secured a surplus was the General Jute Products Company. Due to demand for the company's product, cotton sacks, the company achieved a surplus of LE1.06 million in June 1994, although it suffered losses from previous years of LE4.5 million.

In its review of the industry, the People's Assembly's Industry Committee also heard the points of view of various textiles experts, from both the private and public sector.

Mohamed Farid Khamis, chairman of the Federation of Egyptian Industries and a private textile producer, asserted that the Egyptian private sector has recently achieved remarkable successes, especially in terms of exports of ready-made garments. "However, the picture in the public sector looks very bleak, and the deterioration in public textile companies naturally leaves a negative impact on the pri-vate ones," said Khamis, who called upon the state to find "daring solutions" such as introducing a fast settle-ment of these companies' debts, divesting them of their unproductive assets, providing easy and cheap access to cotton, and creating a good package of incentives to workers in the textile industry.

Mohamed Abul-Enein, a private texfrom Port Said, attributed the rising losses in public textile companies to long-standing mismanagement. Worse still, he added, because these companies have remained under state protection for over 40 years (in terms of subsidised cotton prices and available local markets), they had been quick to suffer the effects of liberalisation. He called on the state to find a fast solution to the "cotton equation", by allowing Delta-based textile companies to import cheap short-staple cotton from non-USA markets. The Ag-riculture Ministry currently bans Delta-based textile companies from importing foreign cotton for fear of transmitting foreign diseases to cotton plantations in the Delta. Abul-Enein also suggested that textile workers should be offered a new package of incentives and that small-scale private textile producers should be offered easy and soft-term credit.

EU partnership debated

Leading economists, experts and officials came together last week to attempt to answer the question, "How Egypt can benefit from its partnership agreement with the EU?". This question was the title of a conference, organised by the Egyptian Centre for Economic Studies (ECES), where participants looked at various models of economic integration as well as the free trade agreement which the EU has already concluded with Tunisia and Morocco.

Pharmaceuticals and textiles were two main sectors in Egypt which participants debated as to how they will be affected by

the proposed partnership.

Arvind Subramanian, resident representative of the International Monetary Fund, mentioned in a paper presented to the conference and co-prepared by Moustafa Abdel-Latif of the ECES, that the EU agreement will have limited incremental impact on the pharmaceutical industry, mainly because this sector is already exposed to international competition since tariff barriers on pharmaceutical imports, whether from the EU or elsewhere, are already very low.

Concerning Intellectual Property Rights and patent protection on pharmaceuticals. Subramanian said that any change in Egypt's patent protection "should be assigned not to the EU agreement, but to the Uruguay Round's Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights Agreement

In recent years. Subramanian explained, sector have come to play a greater role than the public sector. He pointed out that the public sector's share of production fell from 70 per cent in 1984-85 to about 40

While foreign-owned factories produce their drugs under license from parent com-panies, according to Subramanian, only 40 to 50 per cent of the production of the local private sector is patented.

"Production under licence happens only because indigenous firms cannot buy the active ingredients from cheaper sources or because the technology and know-how are not readily available from other sources."

The number of pharmaceuticals produced without patent is expected to in-crease over the next few years and will account for 10 to 30 per cent of the total market, Subramanian predicted. "This seg-ment of the market will become vulnerable once the obligations of the TRIPs agreement have to be complied with."

He said that the short-term effect of the

Egyptian industrial goods may not benefit much from the EUproposed partnership. In fact, they may be getting better terms within the framework of GATT. Niveen Wahish investigates

implementation of TRIPs is that prices will increase, economic welfare will fall and profits will go mostly to patent owners, which in Egypt's case are likely to be the foreign companies.

However TRIPs allows developing coun-

tries a 10-year transitional period for the

local industries to adapt.

On the other hand, Subramanian said that the draft EU agreement requires Egypt to provide protection for Intellectual Property Rights (IPRs) in line with "the highest international standards." Subramanian said that this will not have any significant consequence on the pharmaceutical sector. However, he pointed out that "the draft agreement adopts the principles of competition policy that govern the free move-ment of goods within the EU." He explained that once the agreement goes into effect, these principles would also apply to

Egypt.
Mohamed Abul-Enein, of Abul-Enein pharmaceutical industries, voiced the opinion of pharmaceutical producers saying that "the 10-year transition period granted to developing countries is our right, why should we wave it aside?" Without the time to gather the needed technology and conduct research, he warned, "We will disappear from the market."

Hanaa Kheireddin, professor of economics at Cairo University, said that Egyptian textile products already enjoy, within the 1977 protocol agreement, duty-free access to EU markets with the exception of cotton yarns and fabrics which are restricted by

According to Kheireddin, the agreement proposes the removal of tariffs and quantitative restrictions on the trade of textiles between the two parties.

She said that even if these quotas were lifted as a result of the agreement, this would not add much since these quotas were never met anyway. On the other hand, she added, these quotas guarantee Egyptian yarn and fabrics a certain portion of the market

In the meantime, Kheireddin explained, the agreement, when implemented, will not

only expose Egyptian industries to fierce competition, but the Egyptian government will also lose the tariff revenue collected on imports of EU origin. Moreover, she believes that the elimination of tariffs on EU imported raw materials may lead Egyptian manufacturers to import from EU suppli-

ers, even if they are not up to standard.
The Uruguay Round MultiFiber Agree ment involves the gradual phasing out of quantitative restrictions over a 10-year transition period. And although it calls for a reduction of tariffs, it does not eliminate

"The proposed EU agreement goes beyoud the requirements of the Uruguay Round, which do not eliminate turiffs." said Kheireddin.

In the EU proposal, Egyptian yarns and fabrics will enjoy duty-free entry into the EU market, whether the cotton or yam originates in Egypt or elsewhere. However, the same will not apply for Egyptian ready-made garments which will only ben-efit from the duty-free treatment if the labrics used were either produced in Egypt or imported from the EU.
Galal El-Zorba, a leading textile mea-

ufacturer, told conference participants that the EU-agreement is important for the textile industry, depending on the text of the

He expressed his discomfort with the rules-of-origin related articles saying that The rules of origin do not offer any advantage to the industry. If they are changed

Zorba stressed that ready-made garment represent 50 per cent of Egyptian exports of textiles which in turn represent 50 per cent of Egypt's exports of manufactured

With these figures in mind, he said that the rules of origin in the current text are unfavourable to the Egyptian rising exportoriented garment industry. He suggest that the proposed agreement adapt the rules of origin as placed by the World Trade Organisation because "they are more liberal". Stressing another issue, Zorba said that if the EU offers similar arrangements, re-

garding preferential treatment, to Egypt's competitors, then "we lose our compar-ative advantage and will disappear from

Despite holding some reservations against the text of the agreement, Zorba still believed that the EU is an investment in the future since it will eliminate the cost of customs which would give Egypt, as a partner in the agreement, a comparative advantage over competition.

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EAB share sale

IN A MOVE designed to increase its capital by 20 per cent, the Egyptian-American Bank (EAB) placed two million shares for sale to the public on July 2. The sale of the shares is expected to add LE20 million to the bank's current LE100 million in capital. One quarter of the shares will be earmarked for the bank's employees while the rest is for the public.

According to Karim Onsy, senior manager of EAB's Retail Banking and Communications Department, the increase in total equity will allow the bank to expand its loan portfolio. In addition, it will increase the bank's "single obligator limit", which raises its ceiling on loans to a single entity. Central Bank of Egypt (CBE) regu-

lations stipulate that the single obligator limit should not exceed 25

per cent of the total equity.

"Going public," said Onsy, "goes hand-in-hand with the government's privatisation programme

Each share will be priced at LE60, with a minimum of 50 shares per purchase required. Public subscription is scheduled to continue for a month but, if the offering is fully covered, subscription will be

closed after 10 days. The EAB, which has a paid-up capital of LE100 million, is jointly owned by the Bank of Alexandria (51 per cent) and the Amex Holdings Corporation (49 per cent).

Vacation-land

RECENT statistics reveal that Egypt's tourism revenues witnessed an increase for fiscal year 1995-1996. According to an economic report published by the Central Bank of Egypt, the country's tourism revenues reached \$1.7 billion during the period from July to December of fiscal year 1995-1996, a 30.4 per cent

increase over the revenue from same period the year before. The number of tourists also increased during that same period, reaching, according to the report, 1.8 million, an increase of 19.6 per cent. Most of this increase took place last October and November when Cairo played host to several international tourist conferences. This increase included tourists from European countries, especially France, Italy, England and Germany. The number of tourist from Eastern Europe, especially Russia, also witnessed a marked increase. About 108,000 Russian tourists came

to Cairo, compared to 61,000 in the same period last year, the re-

In addition, 26.5 per cent more tourists from the Americas and 22.2 per cent from Asia chose Egypt as a vacation spot this fis-

The number of tourist nights reached 12.5 million during the period from July to December 1995-1996, an increase of 28.4 per cent over the same period last year, the report said.

Visitors from European countries topped the list in terms of the number of tourist nights, surpassing last year's figure by 82.1 per cent. Visitors from the Americas spent 41.1 per cent more tourist nights this year than last, and tourists from Asia and the Pacific rim countries spent 44.3 per cent more tourist nights in the country this fiscal year.

Italy backs artisans

ITALIAN Ambassador Francesco Aloisi de Larderel met with the president of the Artisans' Syndicate, Ahmed Abdel-Kader Ginneima, on the occasion of the completion of the joint Italian-Egyptian professional training centre for woodworkers.

The project's goal is to provide young Egyptian students with the knowledge and technical skills necessary to successfully enter the labour market. After completing their training, selected students will be placed in firms operating in the field of wood production.

The cooperation project is part of the Italian government's general plan to fight unemployment and promote the private sector in

Egypt.
A \$3.4 million grant from the Italian government was used for the centre's construction and teacher training.

In the future, the syndicate will manage the centre's courses which are expected to draw nearly 200 students annually.

Edited by Ghada Ragab

Walking with Arafat

Security concerns dominated the first direct yet low-key encounter in Gaza between PLO

leader Yasser Arafat and the new Israeli government, writes Graham Usher from Jerusalem

On 27 June, Binyamin Netanyahu's chief political advisor, Dore Gold, met "secretly" in Gaza with Palestiman President Yasser Arafat. It was the first direct encounter between the new Israeli government and the PLO leader. The next day - in a bevy of interviews granted to the Israeli press — Netanyahn declared that he would open "channels of communication at all levels" with the Palestinian National Authority (PNA), including Arafat "if it is important for the state of Israel".

The meeting and Netanyahn's comments were viewed in Israel as the first cracks in the quarantine imposed by the Israeli government on Arafat since the elections. As Shimon Peres warned Netanyahu in his first Knesset speech as opposition leader, "I am not ashamed to say I walked with Arafat. You will too". The new Israeli leader is likely to walk slowly but walk nevertheless, and for the same motives that drove Rabin to shake Arafat's hand and Peres, at times, to hold it: peace, and the complex relation peace has with Israel's notion of security.

The Gold-Arafat meeting was prompted, say source es, less by Arafat's chagrin that he was being ignored by the Israeli government in favour of his deputy Mahmoud Abbas, with whom Gold had met earlier, than by reports from Israel's security forces of "a deterioration in cooperation" between them and their PNA counterparts since Netanyahu assumed office.
On 13 June, leaks surfaced in the Israeli media that

a toaler

the PNA's Preventive Security chiefs in the West Bank and Gaza, Jibril Rajoub and Mohamed Dahlan, had warned the Israeli government that, should it

"suspend" its cooperation with them and Arafat, they

might "suspend" their persecution of Hamas. Rajoub later denied the reports, insisting that, "under Amfat's orders", the PNA would continue the same security policy as existed prior to the elections. But the message was understood. On 26 June, Netanyahu ordered the resumption of Israel-PNA security contacts at the local, district and regional levels in Gaza and the West Bank. The next day he dispatched Gold to meet Arafat.

In Gaza, Gold reportedly assured Arafat of the Israeli government's commitment to the peace pro-cess, promising meetings between the PLO leader and senior cabinet ministers, including Netanyahu, "when necessary". But he also listed alleged PNA vi-olations of the Oslo agreements which must be corrected if the process is to resume. Chief of these, according to Netanyahu, is for the PNA to demonstrate its recent "clear capacity" to combat Hamas and Islamic Jihad, not "ephemerally", but as "a matter of

The notion that the PNA's hunt after its Islamist opposition is either "recent" or "ephemeral" is certainly news to Palestinians. Nor only to them. On 18 June, Amnesty International published its annual reports for 1995. And the chapter on Israel reveals just how little difference the Israeli-PNA driven policy of ce with security" has made to Palestinian human ights in the West Bank and Gaza.

Israeli security forces, says Amnesty, continued to hold up to 4,000 Palestinian political prisoners dur-ing 1995, used "systematic torture" in their interrogations of detainees and killed 49 Palestinians, including several "in circumstances suggesting they had been extra-judicially executed". The only novelty about the report is that these absolute violations of Palestinians' human rights have been compounded by the PNA. In 1995, the PNA, says Amnesty, also arrested upwards of 1,000 Palestinians in the selfrule areas, "many without charge or trial", and was responsible for the death of four Palestinians while in

Since the report was written - and especially with the PNA's mass arrest sweeps that followed the suiThe PNA has currently in its prisons anywhere between 900 and 1,200 detainees, many of them interned without legal warrant or judicial scrutiny. Ex-detainees tell of appalling prison conditions with "poor food, no medical treatment and no access to

One ex-detainee from Gaza (who, typically, refused to be identified) describes how he was beaten with cables stuffed with wires every day for 18 days. In the end I confessed I was a member of Hamas military wing," he says. "I know others who confessed their wives were Hamas members. We would

have confessed to anything".

The saddest result of the PNA's ruthless adoption of Israel's security priorities is how little protest they have caused, whether on the Palestinian street or, more culpably, within an increasingly pliant Pal-estinian media. But there are signs that the situation may be changing.
On 26 June, the head of the Palestinian In-

dependent Commission for Critzen's Rights, Dr Eyad Sarraj, was released after spending 16 days in PNA custody. For Sarraj's lawyer, Khader Shkirat, the fact that the PNA quietly dropped the "drugs"

and "assault" charges brought against his client vin-dicates the view that the real cause behind Sarraj's detention was his outspoken criticism of the PNA's

But, says Shkirat, the release would not have oc-curred had it not been for the Palestinian High Court demanding from the PNA the reasons for Sarraj's arrest, pressure exerted on Arafat by members of the Palestinian Legislative Council and a handful of Palestinian non-governmental organisations which raised Sarraj's case publicly. A similar coalition is being built to demand the release of 10 Palestinian students from Birzeit University who have been detained in PNA prisons without charges or trial for over 100 days. The Palestinian High court has re-quested a written explanation from the PNA's interminister as to why the students are still being

held. The PNA's interior minister is Yasser Arafat. The Gold meeting and the Palestinian High Court's rulings reveal precisely Arafat's dilemma in the new Likud era. On the one hand, the PLO leader may be convinced that the only way he can proceed towards statehood is by demonstrating to Likud (as he dean-onstrated to Labour) that he and the PNA are "sound" on Israel's security needs. On the other and as long as he bases the PNA's security policies exclusively on these needs - the struggle in the selfrule areas is likely to be less for a state than about the



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Peace stalemate spells Lebanese disaster

The fate of South Lebanon remains hostage to regional developments and the upcoming American elections, reports **Zeina Khodr** from Beirut



The remains of a shelled Palestinian guerilla base in southeast Lebanon

The region is at a dangerous crossroads with Israel's new Prime Minister Binyamin Notanyahu holding on to his hardline peace policies and the Arabs insisting Israel must respect the principle of exchanging land for peace. The current stalemate in the Middle East peace process bodes ill for Lebanon which, when things go wrong in the region, often pays

The dramatic political changes in the region may have farreaching repercussions. Arab-Israeli peace negotiations are frozen and the possibility of ture seem remote. The current stalemate makes Lebanon, particularly the south, the biggest

Emile Khoury, a columnist in the conservative daily An-Nahar, predicted five possibilities if the stalemate continues: "Either the peace process will be frozen and Lebanon will have to bear the consequences of the stalemate which will be reflected in the situation in the south. The region would enter a state of 'no war, no peace' which would please Israel since it will continue to occupy Arab lands and expand settlements. The cycle of violence and extremism may increase in the area, deteriorating the regional security situation. Resistance activities against Israel in the south and attacks inside Israel proper might escalate prompting Netanyahu to carry out a large scale military operation. Or Arab unity may result in internal division in Israel and lead to the collapse of the present hardline government."

Meanwhile, the military situation in southern Lebanon and the western Bekaa continues to deteriorate in spite of the April ceasefire understanding.

Israeli warp'anes rocketed a Arafat Palestinian National Liberation Organisation in the eastem Bekaa Valley, just seven kilometres away from the Syrian border. The group, headed by former Fatah Colonel Abu Moussa, had claimed responsibility for an attack which killed three Israeli soldiers in the West Bank last week. Days earlier, the resistance carried out eight attacks in one day against Israeli troops and their allied militia in the zone they occupy in South Lebanon. Israel responded by shelling a number of villages in the south. The escalation raises the

question of how the Likud gov-

decide the fate of its first Islamic prime

minister. Barring a no confidence vote, Necmitten Erbakan, leader of the pro-Islamist Welfare Party (Refah), will

head a coalition government for the next

But all is not well with Refah's part-

ner, the right-wing True Path Party (DYP) headed by Tansu Ciller, who is

now deputy prime minister and foreign

minister in the Refab-DYP coalition. In

two year's time, she is set to become prime minister under a four-year rotating

premiership. But this prospect now

This week, the Turkish media, dom-

inated by secularists, was rife with spec-ulation that the DYP members of parlia-

ment opposed to the coalition deal will block the newly formed government's rise to power. So far, eight DYP deputies

have resigned from the party in protest at

Ciller's deal with the Islamists, and

around 20 more are opposed to the new

A number of DYP rejectionists have

defected to former Prime Minister Mesut Yilmaz's Motherland Party (ANAP) whose own coalition with the DYP

flopped after only 100 days in office due

two years.

looks uncertain.

coalition.

emment will deal with Lebanon. Western sources were quoted by the local press as saying that an Israeli military strike is eminent in the next few months while others ruled out the possibility until after the American elections in No-

According to Ghassan Mu-

kahhal, the head of the international desk at the leftist daily As-Safir, the region is passing through a wait-and-see period until Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu maps out a clear policy. "I do not think Israel will carry out a large-scale atpresent. Netanyahu has no clear-cut policy yet. We are all waiting to find out what it is, especially vis-à-vis Lebanon which he has not talked much about. We also have to wait for the American elections and maybe only after they are held will Netanyahu declare his true

Commenting on the flare-up in the south, the American ambassador to Lebanon, Richard Jones, said he anticipated more violence despite a call for calm. "I think the situation in the south is very serious. I don't think violence in the south benefits any of the parties' inter-

ests. But this is a disagreement we've had for some time and I expect unfortunately that it will continue. The situation will become clearer after Netanyahu's visit to Washington next week,"

he said. Speculation has been floating around in the local media for the past week about a possible surprise Israeli pull-out from South Lebanon and the western Bekaa. This scenario, which has been reportedly on the negotiating table in the United States, ultimately aims at cornering Syria.

"This proposal was supposican administration by a re-search institution in the US before former Israeli Prime Minister Yitshak Rabin was assassinated last November when Syrian-Israeli peace nego-tiations were deadlocked. The aim was to corner Syria and take away its trump card -South Lebanon [Syria is the main power broker in Lebanon]. It would be an amactive option for Israel. Netanyahu will be able to build an image of a peacemaker and Israel will be able to achieve its long-time goal — to separate the Syrian and Lebanese tracks of nego-

to a local daily. But most observers here do

not believe a surprise with-drawal will take place. "Israel has the problem of finding some sort of arrangement for its proxy militia in the south, the so-called South Lebanon Army. They cannot just withdraw and abandon them. Israel also has to worry about its security." Rajah Khoury, a col-

Mukahhal also down played the speculation of an Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon, saying that Israel will not leave without anything in return. drawal is nonsense for many reasons. The Likud government considers a pull-out an important card in negotiations with Syria. It just won't leave without any benefits. Israel won't withdraw without an agreement with Lebanon and Syria because it wants security guarantees not just promises. Also, a pull-out without a peace treaty or some kind of an agreement would spell victory for the resistance movement. It would make Syria's position in the Arab world strong since it succeeded to liberate land without making any concessions to

Whether or not reports of an Israeli pull-out are founded, it is highly unlikely that any major development will occur before the November elections in the United States. The Netanyahugovernment must also make clear its stance because if it insists on its hardline position, it may destroy the peace process. This Israeli intransigence is being confronted by extensive in-

ter-Arab contacts.

The Arabs are stressing the peace process must remain based on the principle of exchanging land for peace. Netanyabu has ruled out exlon called for talks without prior cenditions. "Negotiations with Israel will not resume unless they are based on the land for peace formula," Lebanese Foreign Minister Fares Boueiz said.

The upcoming period is expected to be precarious. The fate of the five-year old Arab-Israeli peace process will be determined in the wake of the decisions and policies adopted by the concerned parties in the near future. In the interim, South Lebanon will remain hostage to regional developments and the upcoming American

Turkey's shifting bedfellows

tiations with Israel," according

Turkey's moderate Islamic force is a hair's breadth away from power, writes Samia Nkrumah



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to the personal rivalry between Ciller Dr. Abdel Alim Mohamed Refah and the DYP have 288 seats in Dr. Gehad Auda - Ashraf Radi parliament (158 and 134 seats re-Dr. Walid M. Abdei Nasser spectively). If the number of defections reases, the balance could further tip in

favour of the rejectionists. There are other forces to be reckoned with. The Grand Unity Party (BBP) with seven seats in parliament could be in-strumental in blocking the confidence vote. The BBP is an ultra-nationalist block known for its pro-Refah tendencies, but it opposes shelving corruption probes against Ciller. The BBP will

back the government if its members are promised certain positions. This would only further strain the coalition.

As things stand, "deputies in the 550seat parliament are evenly divided between those who support the newly formed government and those who oppose it", wrote the Turkish Daily News.

Against these threatening obstacles to

On 8 July the Turkish parliament will his rise to power, it is little wonder that Erbakan is treading carefully. When revealing the coalition government's programme, he conspicuously left out Refah's vehement criticisms of Turkey's pro-Western stance.

In the aftermath of the coalition deal, Erbakan's statements could hardly be distinguished from those of the secular parties. Recently, Erbakan has not reiterated his dream of an Islamic common market, his pledge to scrap interest rates or his intention to review Turkey's customs union agreement with the Eu-

Erbakan's compromising stance indicates that his assumption of power does not imply an end to secularism in Turkey. Rather, it spells the rise of a moderate, democratic religious party. It is this very moderateness which helped him win the largest share of votes in last December's elections in spite of the secular tendencies of the mighty military and financial forces. Secularists and pro-Westerners will take heart at his apparent about-turn, boping that it will be easier to control the Islamists in a coalition government than as a political opposi-tion. The DYP will act as a buffer against Refah's ambitions for closer ties with the Islamic world and steer the administration closer to its traditional

Western allies. For Ciller, entering a coalition with Refah was a question of political survival. When negotiating a coalition deal, Ciller asked Erbakan to balt the corrup-tion charges which parliamentary com-mittees are filing against her. Standing before the Supreme Court would put an end to Ciller's political career. It remains to be seen whether Erbakan will grant her this reprieve. After all, it was Refah, backed by the ANAP, which launched charges of corruption against Ciller.

Erbakan knows that he is taking a risk. His party fought on an anti-corruption platform. Many Refah supporters are not happy to see Ciller sharing power with their leaders. It was reported that Ciller received parcels stuffed with niqubs through the post.

But being the shrewd politician that he is, Erbakan is aware of his party's strong

bour, housing, justice, agriculture, culture and finance ministries. In this way, Refah will continue to do what it does best: appeal to the poor by maintaining its grip on the social service networks it promoted. Erbakan also announced that his government is committed to setting

up a just taxation system. However, by abandoning key cabinet positions such as defence, interior and foreign affairs. Refah has made un-avoidable yet important concessions.

Erbakan's recent studiously vague statements allow for more than one interpretation. His government will respect strategic treaties signed by Turkey ex-cept those deemed to be against the country's "national and security interests". Yet Refah has publicly opposed the military pact signed with Israel last February as well as the US-led multinational force based in southeast Turkey

to protect the Kurds in northern Irad. This year Turkey has stepped up its attack on Kurds in northern Iraq. Last week. Turkish troops killed dozens of Kurdish guerrillas in a cross-border raid against a rebel base in northern Iraq. In response, the Kurdish Workers Party carried out its first suicide bombing this week, killing nine soldiers in a cer-emonial parade in Tunceli.

Knowing that the military has the final say on Ankara's Kurdish policy, the Releader conceded that "the state's fight against separatist terrorism will continue with all its vigour". A seasoned political veteran who served in a previous government that was overthrown by the generals cannot afford to appear antagonistic. Erbakan knows that the military is watching him closely.

At the same time, Erbakan is keen to stress that Turks and Kurds are all Muslims and that he will try to resolve the problems through "Islamic fraternity". Like his predecessor Yilmaz, he has pledged a gradual lifting of the state of emergency in the southeast of the country. He will let the DYP, which controls the defence and interior portfolios, tackle the complex issues like social order

and human rights. Should the Arab world start worrying

points. The Islamists will control the la- lest Erbakan reneges on his earlier statements to review the Turkish-Israeli military pact and improve Turkey's re-lations with the Islamic world? Turkey is ethnically and geographically connected to Iraq, Iran and Syria. Refah's conciliatory statements during the campaign days have already earned the approval of its Islamic and Arab neighbours. The Syrian daily Tishrin said that Damascus was ready to resolve the problems straining its ties with Turkey under Erbakan's

But political analysts agree that Turkish reality means that the secularist principles on which the republic were built 73 years ago cannot be abandoned — at least not overnight. "The concessions Refah and the DYP made were their only means to attain power. Erbakan's aboutturn could be viewed as an act of political manoeuvring," said Ahmed Fuad Metwali, professor of Turkish studies at Ain Shams University in Cairo.

But Refah has not risen to the centre of power from a vacuum. It has capitalised on the right's failure to deliver economically. Turkey's crippling debts, mount-ing inflation and rising unemployment gave him an opening.

Secularism exists side by side with a strong Muslim tradition, which is no-ticed in small towns and villages, the focus of Refah's campaign. "Around 99 per cent of its population is Muslim. As in all non-Arab Islamic countries, Turks are strongly attached to their religion. Yet every member of parliament has to swear on oath to protect democracy and secularism, the principles of Turkey's first republic. On Turkish identity cards only the word Turkish appears; there is no mention of religion or ethnic back-

ground," said Metwali. The stage is set for a dangerous battle of wills in the Turkish comidors of power. Erbakan's campaign promises may turn out to be mere rhetoric, or he may be waiting until he is secure at the helm before showing his true colours. In the meantime, the Arab world waits hopefully and the West looks on cautiously as Turkey remains entangled in the ever shifting coalitions of its conflicting polit-

Editor - in Chief Dr. Taha Abdel - Alim

38- Three Regional Spheres in tran's Foreign Policy

Chairman of the Board lbrahim Nafie



I ne word from Sri Lanka is that Kumaratunga is on talking terms with her island nation's Tamils, but not with its Tigers, writes Gamal Nikrumah from Colombo

Sri Lanka is kaleidoscopic. Sometimes the island turns away from the sea and shuts up like a clam. Then again it is like an orchid adrift in the ocean. Sri Lanka's economy lays firm anchor on the country's Indian Ocean shores, but its soul has historically been closer to its central heartlands — a boisterous tropical bonanza tem-pered with Buddhist serenity. Temples like those of the ancient capital, Anuradhapura; the lakeside delight of Kandy with its annual Perahera festivals; marvels like the Aukana Buddha, Adam's peak, where man supposedly fell from heavenly grace; and the tea gardens of Nuwara Eliya, towering 6,000 feet up in verdant mountains streaked with blood red earth. footpaths, are all in the interior.

All these inland treasures are repositories for the ethnic Sinhalese majority's cultural heritage. The 18 per cent ethnic Tamil minority of Sri Lanka has far fewer heirlooms in the country. Its ancestral homeland is uthern India. In Sri Lanka, the Tamil Tigers' war cries have been a clap of thunder reverberating through . the island's tropical skies.

And blood, not caressing balmy breezes, was uppermost in my mind as I bumped into General Anuruddha Ratwatte, Sri Lanka's deputy defence minister and minister of irrigation. power and energy. I was on my way to meet his sister, Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike, at her official residence in Colombo, Rosmead House, an elegant whitewashed colonial building set against crimson bougainvillaca and ornamental palm trees. "We will talk with the Tigers only after we have tamed them," Ratwatte told Al-Ahram Weekly.

The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Ealam (LTTE), at the height of their. power, ran everything north of the town of Vavuniya where Tamil people predominate. Today, they have been flushed out of most of these areas. General Ratwatte told the Weekly that 70 per cent of the war against the Tigers had been "successfully comnleted". But the Tigers disagree, "The strategy of General Ratwatte is an old story," warned an editorial in the LTTE's official publication, Vidwarned an editorial in the uthalai Puligal. "He expected that when the north falls, the east will automatically fall, the north being the axle of the wheel of the struggle. The new story is that he is going to lose

ing full strength."
Prime Minister Bandaranaike chipped in. She gave a blow-by-blow historical account of political developments in Sri Lanka and of examples of both the cooperation and the ri- Lankan President Chandrika Banvalries between the islatid's major daranaike Kumaratunga assembled ethnic and religious groups. Earlier in foreign reporters at her official resthe week, Genéral Ratwatte had unveiled a commemorative statue erect- it clear that we are waging war ed by the Sri Lanka Armed Forces at Getambe. It was an emotional event Tamil people," she assured her listenfor the Sinhalese majority who con-ers. "We have to redress the genuine stitute over 74 per cent of the island's" grievances of the Tamil people. This population of 24 million. Getamber in this exactly the objective of the politcentral Sti-Lanka, is "a historic place ... Ral package of the government." She which had been the battleground for then revealed that the Northern Provthe sacrificing of thousands of Kan- ince Resettlement and Rehabilitation dyan [Sinhalese] heroes in: fieroe bat- "Authority had been set up earlier in tles against the Portuguese, Dutch and June, 500,000 Tamils had been re-British colonialists." General Rat- turned to the northern Jaffina pewatte explained.

the islands character to transche beaches believe tempestuses anische quered history. The Portuguese Sussel the Arabs, the Dutch chased away the Portuguese, the British cut the Dutch down to size and seized the bountiful isle. The British brought Tamil people poverty and unemployment lie at the from southern India to work in the tea _____soot of the war. and rubber plantations betause the low Westerners we

cal Sinhalese naturallaments work for peanuts - they were labelled as lazy. The Tanails were United States Ambassador in Co-brought in a indentured labourers Jornbo, Peter Burleigh. Not to be outvirtually slaves of the British. The shone, the British high commissioner Sinhalese resented the newcomers. It is an all too familiar story of British divide-and-rule strategies that out. British aid will restore power in Jaff-

to its exotic eastern promise. The lux- rors. She is the only Sri Lankan uriant and unspoilt coastline with its a leader in recent years to stress that the sprawling coconut groves, the tur-; ou country has an ethnic problem. She is quoise sea; sharp green: outcrops-set A not a woman to shy away from against azure skies, the fragrant bou- touchy communal issues. quets of tropical flowers in every maranings has been reconciliatory to Buddhist shrine and temple, the wem- the Tamil Tigers in spite of new hosen draped in colourful saris that the tilities breaking out in the east and match the mood of the island and act north of the island. "We need to win centuate their lilting and dance-like, the war, create jobs and develop the gait, and steamy Colombo teaming, acountry," she told reporters on her with shoppers and sellers, their birthday. sprightly strides in tune with the fast ... Sri Lankan Foreign Minister Lakshrhythms of life in a contemporary man Kadirgamar, an ethnic Tamil capital city. Sri Lanka is paradise, and himself, was just back from a tour of tourists flocked in ever increasing. India His tour included four south Innumbers until bad publicity from the dian states: Kerala, Kamataka, Andh-

the east also, when he is unable to a Famil Tigers' war hit the inter-swallow the north fully, even after us national headlines. Now the flow of foreign tourists - Arab, Western and Japanese - has dwindled to a trickle, and Sri Lanka's tourism potential remains untapped.

On her birthday on 29 June, Sri idence, Temple Trees. "I have made against the LTTE and not against the ninsula and citizens committees had Known to ancient Arab travellers as been established to assist in the heal-Serendip, Sri Lanka's history is any- ing process. President Kumaratunga thing but serene. Serendipity is key to appealed to international aid donors to assist in the implementation of a \$275 million rehabilitation plan for the war-ravaged Jaffina peninsula, a former stronghold of the Tamil Tigers. She was serious about peace and

> Westerners were impressed. "This spresented a major politico-strategic. change in Sri Lanka," said a beaming . lombo, Peter Burleigh. Not to be outin Colombo, David Everard Tatham, promised President Kumaratunga that

deadly serious about development;

most of India's 65 million Tamils live. He talked with Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M Karunanidhi. The Tamil factor is the most sensitive issue as far as relations between New Delhi and Colombo are concerned. In Tamil Nadu, this is especially true; there are Tamil refugee camps there and the southern Indian state lies only 15km away from Sri Lanka's Jaffina

LTTE leader Velupillai Prabhakaran is a bone of contention between the two countries too. The name Prabhakaran strikes terror in the hearts of many Sri Lankans - Tamil and Sinhalese alike. The man stirs as strong emotions and feelings of re-vulsion in India as he does in Sri Lanka. He is ruthless with both fellow freedom fighter and foe. He is notorious for his cruelty, his detractors say. He is said to have masterminded the assassination of India's late Premier Rajiv Gandhi and in January 1992 was officially charged by India for in-volvement in the attack. In India's India In 1970-71, when India cut off Tamil Nadu he is regarded as something of a cult hero among Tamil chauvinists. There are today 57,000 Sri Lankan Tamils in refugee camps in Tamil Nadu and bundreds of thousands of unofficial Tamil refugees outside them. Thousands more are scattered across the world, from Britain and America to Australia, Canada and South East Asia. Kadirgamar discussed Prabhakaran and his LTTE at length with Indian officials and policy-makers. But, even during Kadirgamar's meeting with Rajiv Gan-dhi's widow, Sonia, the subject of Prabhakaran's extradition did not

crop up.

Kadirgamar's visit to India came at a time when Sri Lankans are taking a serious retrospective look into their historical ties with their giant neighbour. Supreme Court head, Justice Tissa Dias Bandaranayke, is heading a team investigating why late Sri Lankan President Premadasa decided not to overture his decision to give arms and ammunition to the LTTE. The move proved to be a grave mistake. To kill two birds with one stone, Premadasa armed the Tigers to fight the Indian troops who had been invited by his predecessor, Junious R. Jayawardene, to quell Tamil insurrection. Premadasa was hoping that the Tigers and the Indian forces

ra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu - where would wear each other out. Indian troops unceremoniously left Sri Lanka in 1990.

The unprecedented flurry of dip-

lomatic activity in the Indian subcontinent seems centred on Sri Lanka. at present, Pakistani Foreign Minister Sardar Asef Ali was there last month to ask President Kumaratunga to urge india to resume talks with Pakistan over Kashmir and other sensitive issues. "The discussions focused on bilateral issues," Pakistani High Commissioner in Colombo, Tariq Altaf, told the Weekly. Altaf, fluent in Arabic, is a graduate of the American University in Cairo and has food memories of Egypt. "Two-way trade between Sri Lanka and Pakistan is worth some \$100 million. Tea, copra, rubber, gems and \$1 million worth of broomsticks are exported from Sri Lanka to Pakistan," he chuckled. On a more serious note he noted that Sri Lanka and Pakistan have always had close relations, in sharp contrast to the island nation's chemicaed history with all trans-India flights between what was East and West Pakistan, Pakistan re-routed all flights to what is now Bangladesh via Colombo. Again, in 1986, relations between Colombo and Islamabad were strengthened when the two countries conducted joint military training and exercises to counter a perceived Indian threat. Today, Sri Lanka is keen to play down any ten-. sion between its immensely powerful neighbour to the north.

India too does not want to appear overbearing. India's High Commis-sioner to Colombo, Shri Nareshwar Dayal, told the Weekly, "All we want is peace in Sri Lanka." He added that the ethnic issue in Sri Lanka must be resolved politically. "President Kamaratunga's plan of devolving power to the regions is a bold gesture," he said. Dayal stressed Sri Lanka's need to reform its unitary state structure. Cooperation between India and Sri Lanka culminated in the July 1987 Indo-Lankan agreement. The legitimate aspirations of the ethnic Tamil in a united Sri Lanka is the basis of the Indo-Lankan agreement." Dayal said. Tamil became one of the official languages of Sri Lanka after the agreement. In Sri Lanka, like in India, politicians worry about the Tigers' treachery. Few think that the Tigers can be tamed....

Brave new world?

Second-hand Dutch underwear and cheap exploited labour: Faiza Rady heard about the realities of economic globalisation at an alternative development conference in Ghana

As the plane approached the Ghanaian capital, Accra, I was struck by the city's glitter. Its exuberant greenery, interspersed with spankling whitewashed one-storey homes, gave it the appearance of a sprawling tropical garden. The rich vegetation was rem-iniscent of Siwa in Egypt, with its dense palm tree forests and lish fruit plantations. At the airport, people's looks seemed to blend into the ambient beauty; the women svelte and graceful draped in bright-coloured boubous, the men striking in their flowing white timics. Unlike most airports, which are highly impersonal transit areas, this airport had a vibrant and pulsating quality to it - at one with the city and its people, or so it seemed.

I had come to Accra to attend a conference on the effects of globalisation on African economies. Sponsored by the African Secretariat of Third World Network (TWN), a non-governmental organisation involved in the research of alternative development projects, the conference focused on the increased marginalisation and impoverishment of Southern countries as a result of international trade treaties like the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the Uruguay Round and the World Trade Organ-

On my way from the airport to the hotel, the signs of poverty and unemployment were highly visible. At each intersection, groups of youths crowded around the cars, waving a wide assortment of merchandise, and instantly established a sort of transitory ambulant highway supermarket. Everything was up for sale in the interval between changing traffic lights and creeping bumper-to-bumper rush-hour traffic. American toothpaste, Chinese curlery, Dutch second-hand clothes and Swiss popsicles were francially brandished at the mostly indifferent passing drivers.

This is globalisation in action for you," commented Sara, my

TWN hostess. Between 1988 and 1996 the General Agricultural Workers Union registered the loss of 80,000 members, mainly because of land privatisation and the large-scale mechanisation of agrarian production. These workers now survive by peddling the imports you see here. We even buy second-hand underwear from Holland now. Meanwhile our national garment industry has gone out of business since the trans-nationals dumped their cheaper products on our market," she added derisively.

At the opening of the conference, development specialist Tetteh Horneku defined the economics of globalisation, also known as the neo-liberal creed. "To the governments of the richest industrialised countries of the North [the G7], the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the WTO, globalisation and liberalisation involve one fundamental project: that of opening up the economies of all countries freely and widely to the global market and its forces.

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Hormeku explained that the G7 and their funding institutions require that all countries adopt the same model, regardless of the nature of their economies, their level of development or their location within the global system. In this context, said Hormeku, the G7 demands that all countries permit the free and indiscriminate operation of transnational corporations on their territory, open their economies to imports and concentrate on exporting what they are supposed to be good at. According to this grand plan, "the government's role is reduced to supporting the market and private enterprise, and leaving the determination of prices of goods, currencies, labour, as well as the allocation of resources, to the operation of the market," said Hormeku.

Although most developing countries have been vigorously pursuing these policies for the past decade and a half under World Bank and IMF-sponsored structural adjustment programmes (SAPs), explained Houneku, the policies have yet to yield the desired results. On the contrary, the record has been dismal, he added, summarising the failure of neo-liberalism in the South. As a result of SAPs, 200 million out of 690 million Africans live under the poverty line — and conservative World Bank estimates project that current poverty levels will increase by a further 50 per cent by the year 2000.

"The future looks especially bleak for Africa," said Yash Tandon, a prominent Ugandan economist currently residing in Zimbabwe. A freedom fighter during the guerrilla struggle against former dictator Idi Amin in the 70s, Tandon became minister of economics when the coalition of progressive opposition forces headed by Yusuf Luie toppled Amin in 1979. After the comp against the Lule administration in 1980, Tandon and his comrades had to flee Uganda — eventually seeking asylum in Zimbabwe.

At the conference, Tandon explained his vision of globalisation

in an interview. "If we think that we can bring about change like the 'nation state' and 'national sovereignty', we are totally de-luding ourselves," he said. Tandon illustrated his point by referring to magical realism in fiction. "Imagine us to be living in the setting of a Jorge Luis Borges novel," he said, quoting political analyst Ignacio Ramonet. "In a far-away kingdom, some mag-nificent and cruel ruler, holding on to the attributes of power and isolated in his regal palace, hasn't seen the world slowly change around him. Until the day when his orders became mere noises heeded by no one because the centre of power had imperceptibly been displaced. And the magnificent sovereign's power was lost; he no longer ruled the world.

Tandon compared our lingering belief in sovereignty and de-mocracy to the monarch's tenacious delusion of grandeur while real power had shifted elsewhere. "Not too far beyond Borges" fiction, the holders of contemporary power clearly state their case all we have to do is listen and hear," explained Tandon, referring to financier and multimillionaire George Soros' recent statements about the market and democracy. "The markets vote every day," said Soros. "They force governments to take unpopular but indispensable measures." This statement was somewhat more sombrely echoed by UN Secretary-General Boutros Ghali: "The reality of world power lies largely beyond the reach of individual states because globalisation implies the emergence of new powers that transcend state structures."

Citing an article entitled "The most influential man in the world", Tandon asked, "Who do you believe it was? Bill Clinton? Helmut Kohl? Boris Yeltsin? Not at all! It was a man who is most likely unknown to most people; his name is Bill Gates. He is the general manager of Microsoft, the software giant which monopolises the strategic market of network communication and controls what we now call 'information highways'. The Bill Gates of this world are more important than Clinton and company because it is their technology that has been instrumental in globalising the

Martin Khor, director of the TWN headquarters in Malaysia, summarised the looming threat of globalisation and its implica-tions for Third World countries. "Globalising the economy ultimately means transforming the fundamental macroeconomic and eventually social policies of countries of the South into a single monocultural laissez-faire economic model that would be compatible with the long-term requirements of the Northern-dominated world economy," explained Khor. Graphically illustrating what is happening. Khor recounted the Brazilian United Nations ambassador's outburst during the Uruguay Round on the issue of glo-balisation "It is like we are a chicken being asked by the cook: With which sauce would you like to be eaten?' When the chicken replies it would rather not be eaten at all, the cook says: 'I rule you

Even the World Bank admits that the South, and in particular Africa, stands to lose in a big way if the WTO — which is still at the planning stage — is ratified. Based on projected global 30 per cent tariff and subsidy cuts, estimated gains and losses for the year 2002 indicate that of the \$213 billion overall gain, \$142 billion will go to the North, while Africa and the Mediterranean region will lose \$1.9 billion and \$1.6 billion respectively. "Once a country's government enters the WTO, that country is obliged to follow WTO rules. Non-compliance can lead to expulsion and the kind of international trade boycott that Iraq has experienced over the past six years," said Khor. Consequently, the WTO would serve to institutionalise existing inequalities and permanently transform Third World economies into reserves of cheap labour and natural resources — regardless of any government's economic agenda. Like in Tandon's fable, national sovereignty would be

After the conference, I tried to escape globalisation and its impending gloom by spending my last day at the beach — but to no avail. Having spent a good part of the day lounging around the pool of the posh and tropically quaint Labadi Hotel, I decided so go to the beach. As I walked down a shaded palm-lined path, I suddenly came face to face with reality once more. I had arrived at a gate barring the beach crowd from entering the no-man's land of a gate parring the bearing the horizontal country and the horizontal state of the horizontal five star hotel grounds — appropriated by Northern business people and the Ghanaian clife. Behind the gate, a group of youths selling Ghanaian handicrafts were attempting to create a space for themselves — on the outer fringes of the booming inter-

Africa on line

Of all the gaps that exist between the South and North, none is growing faster than the information one. There are over 50 African countries, yet only 13 have the ability to access the Internet, a global network of computers, fax machines and other applications connected in local networks and long-distance systems via telephone lines, satellite links and microwave transmitters. The 13 on-line countries are Algeria, Egypt, Tunisia, South Africa, Ghana, Uganda, community learning centre," he said. Kenya, Zimbabwe, Morocco, Namibia, Zambia

and Mozambique. The importance of information technology (IT) in modern business, industry and science is rapidly rising, a fact recognised by the African Information Technology Forum, which met in Cambridge, England, last September. The forum proposed setting up an African Information Systems Federation to link IT professionals throughout the continent. The federation would also work to provide appropriate training in the use of e-mail in Africa and lobby governments to adapt national legislation to meet the re-

quirements of e-mail. Similarly, at a meeting of the Group of Seven top industrialised nations held in Brussels in February, South African Deputy President Thabo Mbeki urged the seven - Britain, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan and the United States - not to exclude developing countries from the global information highway. As Reuter's Janet McEvoy quoted Mbeki, "It's clear that bringing developing countries onto the in-

lenge, but we have to address this challenge, if we are to promote economic growth." World Bank Vice-President Jean-François Rischard shared Mbeki's opinion, saying that the in-formation highway could enable developing countries to streamline public services and expand education opportunities. "One computer booked up to a telephone line could become a

According to an article entitled "Africa and the Global Information Infrastructure" by Ernest Wilson, a telecommunications expert, the World Bank is currently launching a new programme using the Information for Development Fund. The fund will assist developing countries, particularly African ones, to restructure and reform their telecommunications activities. "The bank will also act as a broker between the government and potential investors in the design of new sectoral regulations and laws," said Wilson.

In the private sector, some of the world's largest corporations are constructing important elements of the global information infrastructure. AT&T for example, has recently called for the creation of Africa ONE, a proposed under-sea fibre-optic cable system. As Wilson described, The system would operate at three levels: transoceanic, linking Africa with other continents; pan-African, linking African countries together,

and linking major African urban centres." For Africa to meet these demands and get wired into the network it has to overcome two

major difficulties. First, its poor level of electronic infrastructure. According to Lishan Adam, coordinator of an project called Capacity Building for Electronic Communications in Africa, the average number of telephones per 100 people in Africa was 1.6 in 1993. As Mbeki described, three-quarters of whites in the South African city of Durban had a telephone, but only two per cent of blacks there had one. "Half of humanity has never made a telephone call," he said. The reality is that there are more telephone lines in Manhattan, New York, than in sub-Saharan Africa." Teledensity in Africa, the weakest in the world, remains stagmant even if marginal increases in main telephone lines are achieved. Moreover, there is little private investment in the telecommunications sector. Lack of maintenance of existing equipment poses another problem.

The second difficulty is the high cost of telecommunications services. In Africa, institutions or individuals are charged four to eight times more than their counterparts in Europe and four to 20 times more than their counterparts in the US for the same length of call. There are conflicting views of whether the information highway will benefit the developing world. Experts anticipate the positive contributions to Africa that the information revolution can bring, by advancing economic, social and political growth, and improving the lives of ordinary citizens through distance education, tele-medicine and improved government services. Electronic communications have been proven to assist in the management of crises and in the alleviation of poverty through enhancing trade and research.

Nermeen El-Nawawi looks at Africa's

links to the global information highway.

On the other hand, those who worry about the negative effects of Africa being linked to the network say that most developing countries simply do not have the basic infrastructure to join the highways. Others fear for African national sovereignty, cultural integrity and the threat of economic marginalisation. According to Wilson, "If African countries cannot take advantage of the information revolution, they may be crushed by it. In that case, they are likely to be even more marginalised and economically stagnant in the future than they are today."

The most important job for African governments is to redesign key institutions to promote the information revolution. For example, more inter-agency cooperation is needed among telephone and broadcast industries and companies, and between public and private sectors.

Several of the connected African countries already have local nodal points to access information highways. For example, in Zimbabwe, the Mango network groups together 200 non-government organisations, researchers, and universities. In Kenya, Areenet links 150 university departments, United Nations agencies, government departments and non-government organisations to the rest of the world. Padisnet in Ethiopia allows the 36 member states of the UN's Economic Commission for Africa to communicate with each other

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Lyon from Colombo

The G7 leaders, at loggerheads over what to do with the world's poor at Lyon, created disquiet in the Third World, warns Gamal Nkrumah

The leaders of the United States, Japan, Germany, Britain, France, Canada and Italy — the so-called G7 — will go down in history as being notorious for their meanness. The seven-nation summit sidestepped the issues of poverty and debt relief for poor countries altogether. "Unto everyone that hath shall be given. He that hath not will have to awant further discussion," the Financial Times succinctly put it, paraphrasing a biblical adage and summing up the G7 leaders' frame of mind. It was ironic, because the growth of Third World economies stimulates demand for machinery and equipment from the industrialised world.

The new international world order seems designed to stop the down-andout least developed countries from reaching out for the crumbs that fall off the tables of the well-to-do. Lending a helping hand to the up-and-coming newly industrialised nations was also out of the question. Chancellor Helmut Kohl's Germany vetoed any reference in the fi-nal communique of the G7 summit to a proposal by French President Jacques Chirac to sell \$2 billion in international gold reserves to finance part of the debt relief for the world's least developed countries - mainly former French colonies in Africa. Cold water was poured over Chirac's notion of turning Lyon into a "development summit".

The proposal was not entirely Chirac's idea. Earlier in the year, the Inter-national Monetary Fund (IMF) offered to sell \$2 billion of its \$40 billion gold reserves for reinvestment in Third World countries. "We do not want to discuss the sale of gold reserves," said Chancellor Kohi. The Germans seem to London they won the 1996 European Soccer Championships and in Lyon they threatened to muster a 15 per cent the island's plantations.

blocking vote among the IMF's board of directors. An 85 per cent majority vote on the IMF board is necessary for the sale of the Bretton Woods in-

stitutions gold reserves. Japan's unemployment rate rose to an unprecedented 3.5 per cent last month. That is nothing in comparison to France's which stood at the near-record figure of 13 per cent last week. The spectre of millions of Third World illegal immigrants literally smuggled across continents and scores of international borders suggests even higher rates of unemployment in the South. The phenomenon is symptomatic of the radical changes taking place the world over — namely globalisation.

Human smuggling is one of the most hucrative criminal activities in the contemporary world. Sri Lanka is a country that springs to mind when the issue is raised. The export of Sri Lankan manpower, or one may more accurately say womanpower, is the Indian Ocean island nation's single most lucrative net land nation's single most lucrative net foreign exchange earner. In 1995, exporting Sri Lankan womanpower brought in no less than 42 billion rupers (\$1.5 billion). "Earnings from house-maids employed in the Middle East alone were greater than the net income earned from the export of garments," disclosed the chairman of the Foreign Employment Bureau, Colonel Nissanka N Wijerstne recently. N Wijeratne, recently.

Clothing and garments are Sri Lanka's main export earners, followed by tea, rubber, copra and precious stones. Wijeratne added, "While [Sri Lankan] housemaids in the Middle East remitted 21 billion rupees worth of hard currency last year, the net remittances earned rupees." Most garment factory workers are women, as are the tea pluckers in

Summit sidetracks aid

Youssef Boutros Ghali regrets the sad fact that the G7 summiteers postponed tackling the Third World's pressing economic problems, writes Ghada Ragab

Despite strong demands by Third World countries, especially Egypt, that the G7 meetings assign more importance to economic assistance for the pooter nations of the world, issues including terrorism, trade sanctions and Bosnia took priority at the summit held in Lyon last week

The importance of a concerted effort, led by the G7, to prevent the marginalisation of a large number of poor countries, particularly in Africa, at a time when the global economy is moving faster towards integration, was

highlighted in the summit's preparatory meetings.

Representing Egypt and the Third World. Minister of State for Economic Affairs Youssef Boutros Ghali warned that delayed action on the economic problems of Africa could have a far-reaching global impact.

"The African continent is in need of a concerted programme sponsored simultaneously by the G7, the Bretton Woods institutions, the Paris Club, the United Nations and bilateral donors to address all dimensions of poverty and underdevelopment," Ghali said.

"Our task, that of the G7 and international institutions in which the G7 are major stockholders, is to ensure that nowhere in the 21st century do we lose intevocably part of our planet to misery, disease, famine and a life of endless

hardship and suffering," he added.

Minister Ghali called for the maintenance and expansion of existing mechanisms to channel assistance to the Third World, the continuation of development assistance from donor countries where budgetary considerations stand in the way of aid programmes and establishing mechanisms to resolve the

Although fixed on the agenda of the summit, development assistance and the resolution of the economic problems plaguing the Third World took a back seat to issues which have a more direct impact on the G7 countries.

The bombing of the US military complex in Saudi Arabia pushed terrorism to the top of the summit's agenda. The US came under fire from other nations for enacting legislation that would penalise non-US companies for dealing with Cuba, Iran and Libya. US Japanese trade disputes hung over the summit. Close to home, Bosnia commanded the attention of the European G7 members as they called upon donor countries to increase and accelerate their contributions to the war-torn country.

In the meantime, discussions on Third World economic assistance were sidetracked. Canada suggested selling off five million ounces of International Monetary Fund gold stock over a five-year period to fund \$1 billion in loans to poor countries. But Germany, concerned over an adverse reaction at home against such a measure at a time when tensions are high over the cost of monetary union, stood steadfastly against the idea.

Neither would the G7 agree on how much in debt relief to grant and their message to the Paris Club to increase the ceiling on debt relief was a weak

Furthermore, anticipating reactions from their home constituencies on why they should be alone in helping out the poorer countries of the world at a time of rampant unemployment, the G7 urged Asian and other emerging countries to take on a share of the burden.

Japan for Ghali

At the recent G7 summit in Lyon, Japan pledged its support for Boutros Ghali's re-election. Mansour Abul-Azm in Tokyo finds out why

The economic summit of the seven richest countries in the world (G7) which was held last month in Lyon, France, was seen as an opportunity for United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Ghali to examine his chances

of being re-elected.

Some of the G7 leaders, notably
United States President Bill Clinton,
had reservations about Ghali continuing for a second term after this December. Other G7 nations, notably France and Japan, the UN's main fi-nancier after the US, pledged their support for him. Most Third World countries back Ghali since he is the first African and Arab to head the international body.

The US was once a supporter of Ghali. But that changed when the UN secretary-general published a report condemning Israel for deliberately carrying out the Qana massacre of Laborate similiant and in this year. Lebanese civilians earlier this year. His relationship with the US Ambassador to the UN Madeleine Albright, has never been good. They were trading insults long before the Americans made their decision to stop backing Ghali's re-election plans.

Most of the participating countries in the summit enthusiastically acclaimed the achievements of Ghali during his six years in office. Despite its well known opposition to his re-election, the US acknowledged his accomplishment in reforming and re-structuring the UN and its worldwide peace operations.

Japanese support for Ghali's reelection is important. Although Japan is not a permanent member of the UN Security Council, the country is trying fluential political role for itself. Japan's economic success is well economy in the world - second only

Tokyo aspires to have a louder voice in the international arena and in settlements of regional disputes. Recently, it has granted large amounts of aid to the Palestinians following the Palestinian-Israeli Oslo accords, assisted in peacekeeping operations in Bosnia and offered to send teams to participate in preserving peace in places like the Golan Heights.

Boutros Ghali's relationship with Japan goes back to the '70s when he first visited the country as a minister in the Egyptian government. Since then Ghali has made a trip to Japan every year and on each occasion asks the country to increase its in-volvement in international activities. He has personally tried to calm the fears of conservative Japanese politicians about a more dynamic participation by their country in international activities.

It is clear that Japan has become emboldened during Ghali's years in office, shedding anxieties about being involved in international politics that have controlled its actions since its defeat in World War II. Since Boutros Ghear in world war II. Since Boliros
Ghali became UN secretary-general at
the beginning of the '90s, Japan has
contributed for the first time to international peacekeeping operations and
passed a law allowing its military
units to participate in UN operations in conflict zones.

Ghali and Japan are both keen on more Japanese politicians being given influential offices in the UN's agencies and departments. Japan feels it deserves a permanent position in the Security Council and there will be no better way of achieving such a goal than to make sure that Ghali remains known; it has the second biggest at the belm of the UN.

War criminal quits office

RADOVAN Karadzic bowed to international pressure and formally stepped aside as Bosnian Serb leader on Monday, turning his powers over to a hardline nationalist deputy. Biljana Playsic, who has long supported his policies. But it appeared likely that Karadzic would try to continue wielding power from behind the scenes.

Carl Bildt, the international envoy to Bosnia, had threatened to re-impose sanctions on the Bosman Serbs unless Karadzic was removed from power by last Monday. The international community has been pressing for Karadzic to resign from office and hand himself in to the UN war crimes tribunal in The Hague to be tried for war crimes charges. Karadzic is regarded as a main impediment to elections scheduled

for 14 September, a key element in the international effort to stitch Bosnia back together after three and half years of war. Under the terms of the Dayton Peace Accords that ended the war, it is illegal for someone indicted for war crimes to hold or run for office. Last Saturday, Karadzic was re-elected leader of the ruling extreme nationalist Serb Democratic Party which is expected to win elections in the Serb entity in Bosnia later this year. Defying the international community again. Radovan Karadzic's party has asked him to run in Bosnia's elections in September.

Hong Kong democracy worries ARMED Beijing police this week blocked eight Hong Kong democrats from handing a protest pention to Chinese leaders, triggering warnings that with China's rule exactly a year away, freedom in the territory might be in peril. The protesters were forced to return home after police carrying automatic rifles surrounded their plane after it touched down on the Chinese mainland, held them on board for two hours and confiscated their travel permits

Other opponents of communist China staged a rally this week to mark the 365-day countdown to Hong Kong's return to Chinese sovereignty after more than 150 years of British rule. Democrats who fear the 1 July 1997 handover by Britain staged a march outside China's representative office in Hong Kong and held a candlelight vigil outside the legislative council that China has

vowed to scrap.

The incidents occurred as China said it would press ahead with its plans to bulldoze the colony's democratically elected legislative council, replace it with a hand-picked assembly and name a chief executive to replace the British governor, Chris Patten.

China has promised that Hong Kong can keep its capitalist system for 50 years under a "one country, two systems" agreement made with Britain. But many groups have expressed doubts, smengthened by recent confusing statements by Beijing officials, about China's intentions.

The island of Hong Kong was a collection of sleepy fishing villages and purate hangouts when Britain seized it in 1841 after defeating China in war. It is now a jewel of skyscrapers, industry and high finance, with a population of 6.3 million.

Politburo underlines vigilance VIETNAM'S ruling Communist Party named a new Politburo with the same top three leaders as before — General Secretary Do Muoi. Presidera Le Duc Anh and Premier Vo Van Kiet — but more members from the security forces. The leadership line-up reinforced themes that had already emerged from the party's

femore of the desired of the community and vigilance.

General Secretary Do Muoi, appointed to a second five-year term, called it a "congress of continued reform". It endorsed further efforts to integrate Vietnam into the world community and

liberalise the economy. But speakers also warned against threats to party power from home and abroad. They said corruption and widening urban-nural income gaps could trigger discontent, and foreign ideas could subvert socialism. The congress appointed a new 170-member Central Committee and 18-member Polithum, both slightly vounger overall than before. Six of the Polithuro members, however, are from the military and police — an increase of two giving the body a conservative cast.

Party officials have said the three top leaders may retire in the second half of next year, rather than serve full second terms, if agreement can be reached on successors. The internal party debate over leadership and policy took place in private before the congress, which was scripted to be a show of unity.

Compiled by Heba Samir

China and US avert trade war

An all-out commercial war between the United States and China was averted last month thanks to a last-minute agreement between the two economic giants. Tough negotiations from 17 May to 17 June between acting US trade repre-sentative in China, Charlene Barshefsky, and Chinese Vice-Premier Li Langing eventually achieved a positive result.

China pledged to close factories involved in piracy operations and open up its market to original products. Fifteen out of the country's 20 factories that manufacture compact discs are being shut down. It will also organise security campaigns to arrest those who violate copyright laws and step up surveillance measures to prevent pirated goods from being exported to neighbouring Asian countries. In return, US President Bill Clinton renewed

China's most favoured nation status. Beijing also urged the US to fulfil the promises it made in the trade talks and assist China in gaining membership of the World Trade Organisation.

The last-minute agreement signifies that important progress has been made, but it does not mean that the disagreement between the two nations has been completely resolved. China did not submit to a US demand that joint projects be established for supervising cultural products such as films and books. Beijing wants to main-

tain its cultural sovereignty.

The conflict between Washington and Beijing reached a height during the last two months, after the US set 17 June as the deadline for China to take action. The US was ready to impose sauctions on \$3 billion dollars worth of Chinese

The trade war between Washington and Beijing was warded off because the US turned a blind eye to China's human rights record and overlooked political differences, writes Sayed Awad

imports, including cloth, electronic equipment and other consumer goods.

In retaliation, China announced that it would clamp 100 per cent taxes on American imports

such as cars, communications equipment, agricultural goods and vegetable oil, as well as suspending the import of audio and visual equipment including film, tapes and CDs. The conflict stemmed from the two countries being unable to reach a decisive agreement on intellectual property rights, including publicity rights and patents on inventions, and com-

mercial relations. The Americans claimed piracy of their products in China has cost US industry billions of dollars. This year's crisis is related to another incident which occurred in February 1995. Then the US complained that it was losing a lot of money

from copyright violations and amounced that it would impose harsh punishments on Beijing, in-cluding raising customs duties on \$1.8 billion worth of Chinese imports by 100 per cent.

China retaliated by raising taxes on American imports and went as far as probabiting many American companies from opening offices in China. Beijing also suspended talks with American car companies which were planning to make use of cheap Chinese labour and the vast Chinese market in order to increase their competitive edge over Japanese products.

At the last moment, both sides reached an agreement to protect the intellectual property rights of American products in the Chinese market. Beijing closed six CD factories, some of which were owned by the state. The American

administration considered the agreement a com-mercial triumph for US industry.

The crisis this year was settled when both sides realised the losses they would suffer from an all-out trade war. The American administration was nervous about its car and plane sectors and was pressured to be more lenient with the Chinese by the country's industrial lobby.

Beijing, for its part, was faced with the fact that the American market absorbs 40 per cent of its exports and that the US is the third largest investor in China. The Chinese are also reliant on American technology and need to attract as much foreign investment as they can to spend a planned \$1,000 billion on infrastructure by the end of the decade.

The US cannot, in turn, neglect China's enormous economic potential. Washington cannot afford to miss out on the vast, growing market in China and to leave it as easy prey for European and Japanese competition.

Commercial exchange between the US and China reached \$57 billion in 1995. The comparable figure between Europe and China was \$40 billion. It was not surprising, therefore, that the US watched anxiously the recent visit of Chinese Prime Minister Li Peng to the French capital, Paris. The visit culminated in the Chinese signing a contract to purchase 33 Airbus planes with a total value of \$1.9 billion. Beijing had been planning to buy American-made Boeing

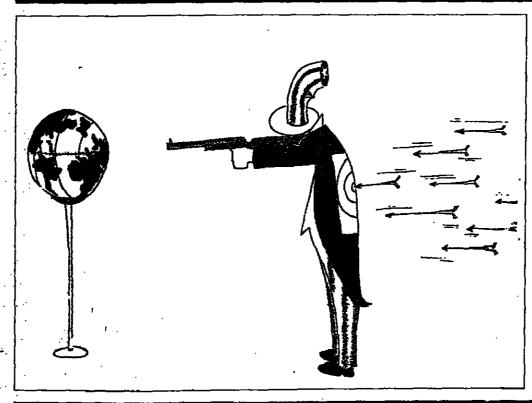
Another threat to US trade statistics has been the growing commercial relationship between Japan and China. Trade exchange between the two countries was worth \$38 billion in 1993, a figure which is increasing now that the Japanese are stepping up investment in China. In 1995, Japan exported \$21.9 billion worth of goods to China and imported \$35.9 billion worth from China. With China's ties with Russia improving as well, the economic strength of the Far East could play a major part in the new world order of the 21st century.

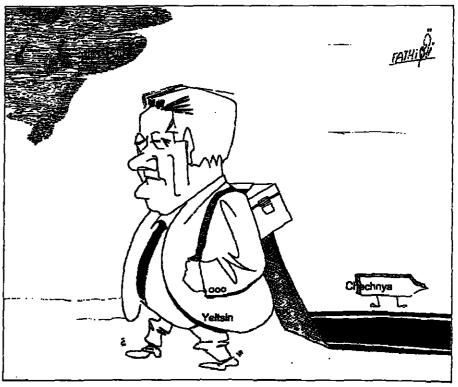
The latest trade battle between Washington

and Beijing is a reflection of the bumpy political relationship of the two countries. Whether the issue is Taiwan, puclear tests or human rights, there is usually some cause for friction between Beijing and Washington. The US seems set to keep on pushing China to continue its campaign against piracy in the audio-visual market, to de-clare the establishment of new state broadcasting channels so that material on them is guaranteed to be legal, and to prevent more violations of intellectual property laws.

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Rhetorically speaking

On the agenda of the stalemated peace negotiations in the region are issues such as the return of the Golan to Syria. making East Jerusalem the capital of a Palestinian state and the right of return for refugees. But, on Neranyahu's agenda is one issue — Israeli

Innately didactic and unyielding. Netanyahu has allowed one month to pass since his election into office without a single step being taken towards normalising relations between his country and its Arab neighbours. In fact, his only tangible step has been to launch a barrage of snappy sound-bites and extremist rhetoric at Egypt and the other Arab countries for holding the Arab summit.

As free-flowing as his glib commentary about the summit is his blatant disregard for the future of the region and his willingness to substitute ultimatums for action in the name of ensuring Israel's security interests. These he has placed above all

But if Netanyahu were truly interested in promoting Israel's in-ternal security interests, would he not have already initiated the redeployment of troops from Hebron? Would be also have pondered, pouted and pontificated before grudgingly agreeing to "open channels of communication at all levels" with the PNA? And, would he have wasted valuable time laying down the condition that no conditions must be present for the final status negotiations to resume? In short, would he not have just embraced peace for the sake of peace, secure in the knowledge that the only way to ensure Israel's security would be to undo the blindfold over his eyes and cooperate rather than retaliate.

This is the political reality he is faced with and refuses to ac-

cept. Using a recent attack by a break-off faction of the PLO as justification, Israel has launched yet another air assault on southern Lebanon, once again turning this country into the chessboard for its power struggle, taking the battle to the field instead of the negotiating table. If Netanyahu is committed to anything, then it is to ignoring the advice of some members of his cabinet and eschewing any tangible effort to promote anything but his self-

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The new realpolitik

There can be no doubt that the election of Binyamin Netanyahu and the rise to power in Israel of the rightwing Liked will have major regional repercussions. Four years of negotiations with the Labour Party and its left-wing allies have seen political and diplomatic circles around the world become accustomed to dealing with a specific faction of Israeli politicians. Now that these people are no longer in place it is time to take stock and, more importantly, seek to create new ciristances to counter the changes that have taken place.

During this period of transition it is important that we retain our historical perspective on events that have occurred since the October War, events that have radically altered the image of Arabs in the West. During this period agreements were concluded to disengage forces on the Syrian and Egyptian fronts, constituting the first step in the peace process. In 1977, when the Likud came to power in Israel, a peace accord was signed with Egypt, creating the first framework for a solution to the Palestinian problem, or as Aba Eban, the Israeli forthe foundations for a Palestinian state This Likud government was followed in the eighties by a succession of "two-headed" governments in which the Likud and Labour parties shared power. But with the exception of a few isolated spurts of activity that quickly dissipated, the peace process was effectively frozen during this period. Then came the end of the Cold War, signalling a thaw on many fronts, and giving momentum to a dialogue that would result in the Madrid

During this same period Egyptian policy, under both Sadat and Mubarak, has remained the same. Cairo has never been concerned over whethThe Middle East is subject to an array of new realities, a situation which,

Ibrahim Nafie argues, Israel ignores at its peril

er doves or hawks were in power in Israel. Its concern has always been to try and advance the legitimate dends of Arabs whatever the rhetoric

of the Israeli government.

For example, Cairo was never once prepared to excuse the Labour govern-ment for its blockade of the Palestinian people, its invasion of Lebanon and barbarous massacre of Qana or its refusal to sign the Nuclear non-Proliferation Treaty, even if that would have helped the Labour goverument remain in power. Egypt's aim has consistently been to achieve a just and lasting peace in the region. Egypt has worked ceaselessly towards this end, engineering along the way new realities that no Israeli government could afford to ignore.

The peace process, which began in Madrid, is no longer mired in squabbles over the interpretation of Resolution 242. It operates within the framework of specific agreements signed between Israel and the PLO. There is no way that Israel can rewrite such

Oslo, Cairo and Washington accords to the Munich agreement that pre-ceded World War II. Now that he is in nower he will not be able to dismiss these accords with such nonchalance.

Nor have domestic Israeli politics proved exempt from the new realities created by Madrid. There is now a widely based constituency within Israel with vested interests in the continuation of the peace process, a broad coalition of forces from the political left and centre, including Israeli Arabs and Israeli businessme

The recent Cairo Arab summit has also created a new reality that no one in Israel, and few analysts elsewhere, had anticipated. Israel, as Ne-tanyahu's extremist campaign speeches testify, has always banked on the Arabs being too contentious to unite. Any practical manifestation of pan-Arabism, they believed, breathed its last with the end of the Gulf War. Now, however unpaiatable they find it, the Israelis must reassess this con-

The Arab Summit in Cairo coincided with the Florence EU Summit. The latter, in its final statement, confirmed the position taken by the Arabs - i.e, that the Madrid conference and Oslo agreements should continue to set the framework for the peace process. The European summit called for all parties to resume negotiations on all fronts, and on all subjects, including the status of

The Arab summit and the European summit created another reality which also involves the US. A week after the Florence summit, the G7 summit began in Lyon. In its final statement, the meeting of the world's richest countries also underlined the justice of Arabdemands. "Now that it is imperative to reactivate the peace process, we urge all parties to abide by their commitments, particularly to the agreements that have already been signed, and to resume their efforts toward a com-prehensive peace founded upon the Madrid process, the principle of land for peace and other principles cited in the pertinent UN Security Council resolutions." So read the G7 final com-munique President Muharak's visit to France this week, and Ann Mousse's visit to Great Britain, aim to capitalise on the emerging consensus represented by the EU and G7 summit statements.

As to how matters will eventually fall out, much will depend on Netanyahu's forthcoming visits to Washington and to Cairo. The result of these visits is likely to reshape the Middle East, producing a political landscape radically different from that which existed at the time of the election of is-

rael's Labour government in 1992.

Netznyahu has already begun to re-tract some of his more virulent campaign statements, particularly with regards to the Osio agreements, the status of Jerusalem and his willingness to meet with Arafat. But does this imply that Netanyahu is contemplating a U turn? So far, no. He may have softened on certain issues, but he continues to wage diplomatic guerrilla warfare, particularly against Egypt, to divert attention away from the es-sential issues. The fabricated Scad crisis is a case in point.

The new Israeli government is clearly being pulled in opposite directions. On the one hand it wants to adhere to its declared election platform, yet on the other it cannot ignore the new realities created by the Arabs. The Israeli government, however, remains in need of further prodding. Certainly we must be vigilant of Israeli attempts to derail the peace process through petty diplomatic machinations. Egyptian diplomacy is acutely aware of Israel's inclinations in this respect. Egypt's main task, therefore, from now until the end of the US elections, will be to continue to remind the world that at the heart of the peace process lies Israel's willingness to adhere to commitments already stipulated and ratified in the

A war climate once again

Mohamed Sid-Ahmed suggests that Netanyahu's policies have not only derailed the peace process, but threaten to plunge the region once again into a climate of war

Since Netanyahu was elected as Israel's new prime minister, a state of tension has gripped the Middle East, replacing the relative tranquility which prevailed when the assumption was that a peace process had been set into motion, and that it could eventually deliver. There is a strong sense of deja vu, as the region seems caught in a scenario reminiscent of the Cold War.

Everybody is aware that, in legal terms, Netanyahu is in flagrant breach of the basic premises of the peace process. By vowing not to return the Golan to Syria in exchange for peace, not only during his electoral campaign but even after assuming power, he is openly violating Resolution 242, the very cornerstone of the entire peace process. Even more critical is the climate of tension, hostility and mutual distrust that he has succeeded in engendering practically overnight, in total contradiction with the confidencebuilding measures that are an indispensable component of any project for peace.

Netanyahu's intransigence has led many to describe him as an anomaly in the new world game, a throwback to the Cold War. But before subscribing to this overly simplistic description, it might be useful to ask just what the new world game is. Does it already have definite rules, or is it a process still in the making, whose ultimate shape has yet to materailise? If we take the Russian elections as an illustration, it is clear that with the decline of ideology, it is authoritarianism, the idea of order in opposition to that of chaos, that is filling the gap, not economic re-form, not market economics. In a way, General Lebed, the candidate of the military, the man who can impose order by force of arms, has emerged as a referee between Communist candidate Zyuganov and President Yeltsin, the candidate who enjoys unconditional Western sup-

Netanyahu too is an advocate of military deterrence, which he considers his main card in the negotiations. When he calls for negotiations without preconditions, be is actually demanding that no restrictions be placed on his privileged position as the occupying power, in short, for the ascendancy of might over right. With his accession to power, the name of the game has suddenly changed. It is no longer how to make peace, but how to bully the other parties into complying with his conditions. This is true in Netanyahu's relations not only with the Arabs, but even with

the US administration, Israel's closest ally. Thus Netanyahu refused to receive Dennis Ross, on the grounds that he does not deal with functionaries, whatever their rank. He told Secretary of State Warren Christopher that he will inform him of Israel's position but will only ne-gotiate with President Clinton. Netanyahu knows that his rival, Peres, was Clinton's chosen candidate in Israel's general elections. He believes that, if before the Israeli elections the American president had the means to intervene to Likud's disadvantage in internal Israeli policies, on the eve of the US presidential election it is now Israel's prime minister who can, thanks to the powerful Jewish lobby in America, intervene with impunity in American internal policies.

The new Israeli government's bullying tactics with the US have provoked the US to retaliate in kind - but against Egypt, not Israel! The American administration has suddenly discovered that Egypt secretly acquired Scud missiles from North Korea which, if the allegation proves true, justifies cutting economic aid to Egypt. Simultaneously, the issue of Gaddafi's arrival to the Arab summit by plane, in defiance of the flight ban imposed by the UN on Libya because of the Lockerbie dispute, has also become a major issue that Egypt is required to explain. Finally, there is the virulent campaign launched by the US against Boutros Ghali, and the unprecedented threat to use its veto power to block his reelection. Even if the "irrevocable" decision to remove Boutros Ghali is not directed against Egypt, but reflects Washington's anger at the secretary-general's decision to release the UN report establishing that the Qana massacre was not, as the Israelis claimed, a "tragic mistake", but a deliberate act of cold-blooded murder, it can only be seen as an unfriendly act by Cairo.

These are not the only signs of a deteriorating situation. The joint Israeli-Turkish air and sea manoeuvres have given the word "Middle Eastemism", originally coined to express a purely economic venture, namely, the Middle East market, alarming military connotations. Indeed, they bave ushered in a new era of regional axes and counter-axes, with Greece and Armenia, and possibly also Iran, coming together in the face of this new threat. At the same time, Netanyahu is sparing no effort to exacerbate inter-Arab divisions, showering Jordan with praise while ac-cusing Syria of being a key actor in fomenting terrorism throughout the region.

Following the call for an Arab summit, Washington advised the Arab leaders to postpone its convocation on the grounds that Netanyahu's statements during the electoral campaign were not necessarily an accurate reflection of the policies he would follow as prime minister. Had the Arabs heeded Washington's advice, Netanyahu would have been free to continue his procrastination and conceal his deliberate intention to scuttle the peace process.

Actually, the Arab leaders were not only inter-

ested in the summit as a means of placing Ne-tanyahu before his responsibility and proving to the world at large that statesmanship is unlikely to replace the bellicose rhetoric that marked his election campaign. It was also a means by which to stand up to the alternative logic in the Arab world which holds that the whole peace process was doomed to failure from the start. If such a logic prevails, this would be at the expense of all the advocates of peace in the region. There is today a race between two contradictory logics in the Arab world, that of the Arab regimes which are sticking to the peace line and that of forces which are resorting to violence to protest the manipulation of the Arab world. The recent explosion in Saudi Arabia is very significant in this respect.

Pirates of the word

By Naguib Mahfouz

publisher Al-My publisher Al-Sahhar has, over the years, never dealt with me in anything but a correct and courteous way. However, no sooner is a book published in Egypt, or some work sensised in a

newspaper or magazine, than one hears that it has been pirated and published in Lebanon or Morocco. This is not necessarily all bad, since there is a large North African readership acquainted with my works

largely through pirated editions. Piracy, though it represents a financial loss can also resuli in cultural gain. Often friends returning from abroad bring editions of my works that I did not know existed. I well remember receiving a letter from a reader informing me that one of my novels had been pirated and was selldifferences with the version published by

Al-Sebbar. Once I actually signed a contract with a copyright pirate. I was siting in the Cafe Riche one day when a tall Lebanese man introduced himself to me saying: "I am the publisher who pirated all your novels, from The Absurdity of Fase to Miramar." I asked him what he wanted and he explained that he wanted me to sign a contract entitling him to become my "official copyright pirate". Apparently, such was the competition between pirates that he wanted an exclusive deal. I was to receive my author's fees, of course. I found this extremely logical, and promptly signed the contract.

Based on an interview by Mohamed Salmawy.

The Press This Week

Scuds and duds

Al-Ahram: "In his bizarre joint press conference with Christopher, Netanyahu has revealed his true intentions. With a mere shrug he has blown away all international resolutions [on the Arab-Israeli conflict]... ignoring the basic principle of land for peace and linking peace and security, overlooking the fact that security should be for all and not just for Israel." (Thsan Bakr, 30 June)

October: "To be quite honest it is no longer clear whether the US is a friend or foe. Can it actually hold a principled and objective position? Is Warren Christopher really the US Secretary of State or a second Israeli foreign minister? And when we stand before the US and Israel can we clearly tell which is the opponent and which is the judge?"
(Ragab El-Banna, 30 June)

Al-Wafd: "Which is more dangerous to peace and security: the Israeli nuclear weapons and advanced air force or the Scud missiles recently linked to Egypt? ...What is it that Israel wants from Egypt? To leave Arab lands as prey to Israeli encroachment and Zionist ambitions? And what does the US want exactly, after giving in to numerous Zionist demands?... Egypt is not bound to appease Netanyahu. Egypt's decisions emanate from Cairo, not from Tel Aviv or Washington.

Rose El-Youssef: "When Egypt takes the necessary stance appropriate to its strategic role in the region, a strange affliction hits US policy... It is as though the US master imagines that Egypt must submit to his demands or threats and never oppose his desires unless it wishes to face endless problems to the extent of threatening to besiege it and cut off all aid."
(Mahmoud El-Tohami, 1 July)

Al-Arabi: "We welcome the G-7 summit's declaration of war on terrorism... on the condition that matters should be clarified: the struggle against Israeli occupation is legitimate, the struggle to recover what poorer nations have lost is legitimate, the struggle to prevent the world from splitting into a predatory North and an impoverished South is legitimate ... even if this is not to the liking of the US and its six partners." (Galai Aref, 1 July)

Al-Ahrar: "US policies are quite clear and Americans have never hesitated in declaring it. They are for an Israel that is stronger than all the Arab countries combined, they are against any Arab force opposing it and they are particularly against a strong Egypt... So what is there to astonish and anger us when they remind us that we are not allowed to possess long range missiles? Only a few months ago they asked us to sign the nuclear nonproliferation treaty, despite our insistence that Israel should sign as well." (Hassanein Kroom, 29 June)

Al-Shaab: "A new Israeli nuclear reactor at the Egyptian borders - a news item carried by news agencies and described as an ordinary matter... Yet they are making all this fuss over Egypt's Scud missiles!"

Al-Mussawar: "Only a month ago the Israelis were talking about the US president acting as Israel's obedient boy! Now we hear that Clinton needs Netanyahu much more than the Israeli premier needs the White House..!" (Makram Mohamed Ahmed, 5 July)

Al-Ahali: "Now that the Cairo summit has brought the concept of Arab solidarity back to life, a plan of action is needed to bring it into effect. Unfortunately, the summit did not set any time schedule for such a plan... Time is the Arab's most precious possession especially when they have to confront the intentions to freeze or even sabotage the peace process." (Lotfi Waked, 3 July)

Al-Akhbar: "Without a consensus on the land-forpeace principle negotiations are meaningless. The problem, however, is that Netanyahu considers the land-forpeace principle a threat to Israeli security, and, along with the Americans, sees the pressing issues as those of Egypt obtaining Scud missiles materials, Gaddafi's plane landing at Cairo Airport, Syria's support for the Lebanese resistance and the necessity of imposing sanctions against Damascus... Perhaps the communique issued by the Lyons [G7] summit will help Israeli leaders realise how far they are from the rest of the world... their language and stances do not belong to this age." (Nabil Zaki, 30 June)

Compiled by Hala Sagr



The movement of the eyebrows that surmount the bespectacled The movement of the eyentums that surmount the bespectacled visage of Boutros Ghali are joined to his mouth in an amused choreography. Together with his typically ringing laughter, they betray an essentially optimistic outlook, which might seem at odds with the fraught and difficult conflicts with which he must daily outlook. odds with the traught and emicur connects with which he must daily deal. Such a demeanour might seem flippent, if it were not for the massive head, that seems at times to have been carved from the Aswan granite in which the features of his ancestors were so often portrayed. And like those ancestors, his physiognomy speaks of experience, wisdom and level-headedness.

حكدا من رالإعل

Close up

Salama A. Salama

Reading the danger signs

The communique issued by the G7 summit concerning peace in the Middle East was warmly received, not only in Egypt but by the whole Arab world. Behind this reception lies the fact that the communique provides the kind of international support that has, since the Israeli elections, been noticeable by its absence, most significantly in the US, which since Netanyahu's victory has been intent on facilitating Israeli attempts both to debase the neutral basis on which the peace process had been built and to renege on greements already concluded with the Palestini

G7 summits rarely discuss international issues in great depth and there is no fixed agenda These meetings are generally viewed as little more than a talking shop for the leaders of the It cannot be denied, however, that what emerges from such summits is a reflection of the thinking of the major powers. Statements issued by the summit merely outline common ground and the direction of general policy with regard to current intertional issues and crises.

it was always unlikely that the Lyon communique would deal with the complex variables affecting the peace process since Netanyahu came to power. What the communique did instead was to offer a cantious general formulation stressing the main principles on which the peace process was founded - i.e. land for peace, and the resolutions of the Security Council — while at the same time enjoining all parties to re-sume bilateral negotiations at the earliest possible date.

Many observers consider the G7 summit no more than a public relations show by the world's rich. And certainly, as is the case at all summits, behind the scenes negotiations tend to be of greater import than public declarations.

President Mubarak's visit to France, which came in the wake of the G7 summit, was made against the backdrop of Arab fears over the collapse of the e process — expressed by the Arab summit conference in Cairo --- and constituted a continuation of international efforts to rescue the peace process.

The bomb detonated at Dhah-

ran in Saudi Arabia has made it increasingly apparent that ter-rorist activity in the region cannot be disassociated from the atpeace process. Yet the American administration administration has, it would appear, yet to take on board the extent of the dangers posed by the current situation and by the increasingly an-tagonistic campaigns conducted against Syria, Egypt and the Palestinian National Authority by the Jewish lobby in America.

It is obvious that attempts to anscend the major differences that have appeared within Egyptian-American relations nte a concrete obstacle. And it is equally obvious that some Jewish circles in the US, supportive of Netanyahu, are working at widening the rift.

Egyptian officials have tried to contain the effects of this campaign. Yet the US authorities appear incapable of com-prehending Arab concerns, and ore making no attempts at reassurance. The Scud missile affair, leaked by American sources and the cause of much anger in Cairo, illustrates the dangers attached to Israeli campaigns.

The Middle East is pas through a critical phase. And the G7 summit communique, while it soothed some Arab fears, is hardly up to the task of engineering a resumption of the

peace process.



Soapbox

An unequal battle

Boutros-Boutros Ghali's fight for nomination for a second term as secretary-general of the UN in the face of American opposition is an aspect of the struggle between the poor South and the

world's sole superpower.

Politically speaking it is a far from equal battle, pitting Ghali, a vetteral diplomat, against the US administration, which via the Security Council wields a veto on his reappointment.

Whatever Ghali's future prospects, now would seem an apposite time to examine the record of his first term of office at the UN. Under his leadership the UN has performed a high profile role, both in rescue and peace keeping operations, and in

organising international conferences.

Over the past few years the UN Secretary-General, through his actions, has confirmed his reputation as both a prudent diplomat and a courageous international official. His period as head of the UN has been distinguished by an independent and democratic attitude towards running the organisation. The problems he faces now stem from the fact that, as an Egyptian, Arab and an African, he has never been inclined to accept, unquestioningly, the dictates of the world's only superpower.

Ghali's efforts, added to his predecessor's, constitute nothing less than an historical legacy, a foundation on which the UN might build in order to foster a better

and more just international system.

Perhaps it is sufficient tribute to Boutros Ghali simply to state that he tried so hard and so assiduously to pursue a line that was independent. He deserves our support, and when he returns, he deserves to be welcomed, deserves, indeed, the highest honours the Egyptian state can bestow.

This week's Soapbox speaker if a professor of political science at Helwan University and president of Al-Qarar Consulting Centre.



Ei-Sayed

The multi-facets of peace

If the Arab Summit achieved one thing, it was to assert that peace is not relative, argues Gamil Matar

Some Arab political commentators have exhibited a tendency to minimise not only the substance but the extent of the changes that have taken place in the Israeli government. This attitude, shared by some foreign observers, is not without cause. Israel is, after all, a state founded on an ideological creed. It is a state in which both citizens and political parties adhere to an unwritten national charter. This charter differs from that of other nations in that it is restricted to the founding principles of the state, justifying the right of the state and its creed to exist. And since this charter does not extend to protecting and safeguarding a specific form of government we should not, it is argued, expect any significant transformation in the fundamental nature and conduct of the state simply because its government has

changed.
Other commentators, however, have inned their hopes on at least some change in the way Israel approaches the negotiating process, not least in the speed with which it agreement. These people have a right to believe that a major transformation did indeed occur in Israel when the reins of power shifted from Peres to Netanyahn. 1

It would be foolbardy to under-emphasise the distinction between these two perspectives. They are not a minor divergence of opinion; rather they represent two fundamentally different Arab visions of peace. And the achievement of the Arab summit held in Cairo can be measured by its success in transcending the conflict between these two visions and reconciling them in the paragraph of its final communique dealing with the principles of Arab-Israeli

It is certainly no coincidence that this particular paragraph stirred the new Israeli government into complaining angrily that the Arabs have set preconditions for the peace process. The Netanyahu government was never likely to accept the content of this paragraph, since to do so would have been tantamount to agreeing to resume Arab-Israeli negotiations where they left off on the eve of Israel's bombardment of southern Lebanon. This would have been at odds with the impetus of Israel's recent election results, the direction of which appears to be an attempt to set the clock back to some earlier stage of the negotiations.

Israeli rejection of the principles forming what the Arabs term the basis for future negotiations should not, then, come as any surprise. And herein lies the rub: the paragraph in the final statement outlined nonnegotiable principles. Yet the Likud government is demanding they be renegotiated. In the lead up to the summit the view was often voiced that the Arabs would prove incapable of realising any united stance to-

wards the Israeli government's new negotiating line. Commentators predicted that Arab reactions would follow clearly de-marcated lines. Those countries that had already obtained territorial concessions from previous agreements were not expected to resist Israel's tougher stance while other countries that have yet to regain territory, traditionally more hard-line, were expected to become even more obdurate. Those in the middle, having obtained only a fraction of the land and the recognition of a few, though by no means all of their rights, were expected to be cautious of appearing too radical. And then there is the fourth group, those Arab nations that are far from the heart of the conflict and who, according to some analysts, would be fearful of any show of toughness. It seems, furthermore, Israel's rulers had based their predictions of the summit's results on such cat-

The Arab summit demonstrated the redundancy of such glib categorisations. Not all parties who had gained from previously concluded agreements and not all countries outside of the front-line cordon were excessively moderate. Nor were those parties that have vet to obtain their due territorial rights particularly radical. Indeed, the moderate-radical divide upon which Israel had bedged its bets simply did not manifest itself. This does not mean that Israel had adopted a new and less pertinent analysis of the situation. Israel has always depended on its ability to deal with Arab parties separately, and consequently from a position of strength. And it has always banked on Arab states having divergent concepts of peace.

peace with different Arab countries. Peace with Jordan is a strategic peace. No Israeli official could doubt the value of peace with Jordan. Israel cannot normalise relations with the rest of the Arab world if it does not first succeed in normalising its relations with Jordan. Only via Jordan does any Arab-Israeli defence coordination become at all viable. If Israel entertains hopes of entering — or aborting — any regional arrangements, it has to do so through Jordan. Jordan is Israel's gateway to the Arabs of the Tigris-Euphrates valley and to the Arabs of the Guilf, its mediator between two probably easier for this "peace" to decultures and visions, and its trump card in gaining access to Arab petroleum wealth.

abs of the Guilf, its mediator between two probably easier for this "peace" to degenerate into a "cold war" than to continue as it is, for any length of time. For over a

Israel has different ways of talking about

Many Israeli policy-makers are not too shy to admit that in Israel's view there can be no solution to the Palestinian problem unless Jordan is involved. Israel under Ne-tanyahu, just as under Peres, holds the Palestinian National Authority responsible for guaranteeing that Israeli citizens remain safe from the violence, anger and misery of the Palestinian people. Jordan will be asked to guarantee that the PNA fulfils this task, and if necessary, itself assume the responsibility. At the Sharm El-Sheikh summit, Israel tried to convince the US to draw up a formula that would implicitly enjoin Jordan and Syria to act as guarantors against violence emanating from Palestine or Lebanon. That Syria did not attend the summit frustrated this effort. But at the last moment Israel got its guarantees via bilateral arrangements and agreements with the US. This is what gave Israel the green light to launch its massacre in southern

Israel's peace with Egypt is a "cold seace." I believe that both countries have come to accept this fact and are now basing their plans for future Egyptian-Israeli relations on this frigidity. In other words, it appears that both sides have reached a tacit agreement that recognises that there is no hope for any sudden surge of warmth in the contractual 'peace' that exists between them. One can understand the logic of both sides. The ruling elites in both countries have acquired the conviction that every new distortion in the balance of military power in the region — i.e. every new addition to Israel's military superiority - compounds the accumulated store of mistrust. Every new relationship that Israel establishes with other Arab or non-Arab countries in the region detracts from Egypt's regional status. Every proposal for new regional orders pushed so enthusiastically by the international community in order to diversify and broaden the basis for Israel's normalisation and in order to enhance its regional role comes at the expense of regional configurations in

which Egypt plays a central role.

Against this backdrop some commentators have, however, revised their opinions to contend that the cold peace is not, in reality, as immutable or as slow to change as it appears. The logic that precludes the possibility of any thaw in relations in the foreseeable future also informs the growing conviction that it is

year exchanges between Israel and Egypt have suggested to many an iciness that is more characteristic of a state of cold war than of cold peace. Diplomatic and political relations between the two are reminiscent of those that existed between the US and the Soviet Union during the Cold War. Common borders are calm, but there are red lines that neither side dare cross and certain rules and tacit understandings that prevent the situation between them from deteriorating into open hostility.

Neither "strategic" nor "cold", peace with Syria is a "deferred" peace. Israel and Syria have yet to reach any agreements or new understandings with respect to their mutual relations or with regards to the region as a whole. There is no flow of goods, personnel or communications between the two countries that could remotely suggest any degree of normalisation. Yet, at the same time, they are jointly involved in the "peace process" and evince a commitment to reaching peace. Israel's early decision to defer even if it resulted in a heavy death toll in the security belt in southern Lebanon. The aim was to deprive the Palestinians and the Jordanians of any opportunity to coordinate with Syria when they were negotiating with Israel. It also gave the US the occasion to intensify pressures on Syria and to keep Syria on its list of countries supporting terrorism. Ultimately Israel hoped that its delay tactics would ignite latent inter-Arab conflicts and fire antagonisms between the Arab world and Iran and between the Arab world and Turkey. In other words, Israel's persistent refusal to entertain peace prospects with Syria affords it more time to assess how regional configurations of power might realign themselves. Relations with Arab countries lying out-

side the cordon of front-line states, the countries of North Africa and of the Gulf, are treated by the Israeli media as a sort of folk-dance. Peace with these countries from Israel's perspective — is no more than a picturesque detail. It does not involve the intricate complications of secret and overt negotiations, the shuttling back and forth between European and American capitals, the buffeting by internal or ex-ternal pressures and the need to demarcate security and military boundaries. As a resuit, Israel does not take these relationships seriously, but rather as a form of light entertainment to amuse Israeli policy-makers after a strenuous day of obstructing more fundamental progress in the peace nego-

the Arabs. It is a perception, bowever, that will remain deficient as long as neither the Israelis, Palestinians or the Arabs put forward an explicit conception for peace between Israel and the Palestinians. I do not predict that the Israelis will be very forthcoming in this regard. But here I would like to voice my difference with those who contend that Netanyahu's statements, before and since the Israeli elections, set new conditions for the remaining part of the negotiations and thus constitute new obstacles to the peace process. Netanyahu's repeated "no's" with regard to complete withdrawal from the Golan Heights, the partition of Jerusalem, the establishment of a Palestinian state and a halt to building new Israeli settlements, far from dismantling existing settlements have added nothing new. Peres, before being voted out of office had adopted the same line. Not once had he suggested, unequivocally, that he would be willing to withdraw from the Golan Heights and restore them to Syrian sovereignty, or that Jerusalem could become a Palestinian capital, or that he would approve of the establishment of a fully sovereign and independent Palestinian state, or that he would call a halt to the expansion of Israeli settlements.

This is how the Israelis — and some Ar-

abs - perceive peace between Israel and

Over these points there is no findamental difference between Netanyahu and Peres. The only differences, perhaps, lie in their respective styles and timing, their relative intransigence and their readiness to resort to violence. But in the end these are fine shades of difference, behind which lies that broad and significant common ground in which the views of the Likud and Labour parties over the future of Palestine merge.

Likud's vision is merely an extension of that of Yitzhak Rabin, who granted Yasser Arafat and the Palestinian Authority certain rights and powers to enable them to suppress the Palestinian resistance against Israel, but not enough to suppress the Palestinian opposition and to prevent it from regaining its popularity and revitalising the spirit and values of the Palestinian revolu-

If peace with Jordan is strategic, with Egypt "cold peace - cold war", with Syria "deferred" and with other Arab countries an amusing diversion, with Palestinians it is

The writer is the director of the Cairobased Arab Centre for Development and Futuristic Research.

Pragmatism no longer the order of the day

Separate agreements have had their day, argues Osama El-Ghazali Harb. What is needed now is a steadfast commitment to a comprehensive settlement

The most recent developments in the Arab-Israeli conflict lead to only one conclusion — that separate settlements concluded by Israel with individual Arab states are a thing of the past. It has now become apparent that nothing short of a comprehensive settlement between Israel and all the Arabs will be acceptable.

The origins of any settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict must perforce date back to Sadat's visit to Israel in November 1977. Since that visit took place, almost two decades ago, the question of partial versus comprehensive settlement has been the centre of controversy. Should Arab states enter into negotiations with Israel separately to settle their specific problems, or should Arab countries collectively enter negotiations with the aim of reaching a comprehensive settlement?

So-called nationalist or revolutionary Arab regimes have tended

to favour a comprehensive approach to peace, bitterly criticising those Arab regimes which concluded partial settlements with Israel. Sadat is the bete noire of these regimes. Egypt, however, refused to cave in under the pressure of Arab rejectionism, and even-mally recovered all its territory in return for peace. Fifteen years luter, separate settlements were reached between Israel and the PLO (starting with the Oslo Accord), and between Israel and Jordan. These agreements were, in their turn, targeted by the advocates of a comprehensive settlement.

It is important, at this juncture, that we examine the underlying causes for the adoption of a partial versus a comprehensive settlement to the Arab Israeli conflict. Is the rationale behind the choice dependent on the intensity of nationalist sentiments, or is it a result of a profound awareness of the importance and value of Arab uni-Does the insistence on a comprehensive settlement reflect dedication on the part of certain Arab countries to the goals and ideals of Arab nationalism on one hand, and a willingness to enter into individual agreements reflect an antagonism towards such

goals on the other?

did so for pragmatic reasons. Yet in concluding such agree the countries concerned certainly boped that their actions would pave the way for a comprehensive settlement. Similarly, countries which have staunchly supported a com-

prehensive agreement have done so believing that their own interests can only be served through such an approach. Yet, while in essence their rationale was self-serving, they still reserved the right to raise emotional nationalist banners. The objective realities that justify disparate approaches to resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict must, then, be sought in specificities on a case by case basis.

In 1977 Sadat had no alternative but to seek to conclude a separ

te peace with Israel. He exhorted Arab leaders to join his initiative for peace but they lacked his broad vision and far sightedness. Though abandoned by the rest, Sadat would not turn away from what he believed was the best course of action for Egypt. He wished to capitalise on the results of the October War wh nemonies were still vivid in the memory of Israel and the world. Sadat was undoubtedly conscious that even acting singly Egypt could obtain what it wanted from Israel. Egypt is, after all, the

largest Arab country. Its military capabilities, as evinced in the October War, posed a real threat to Israel. Nor could Sinai be considered, from the Israeli point of view, as being of the same straegic or political import as other Arab territories under Israeli occupation. Agreements on limiting the deployment of weapons in Sinai was enough to assuage Israeli fears and secure a withdrawal. In the case of Jordan, King Hussein was able to conclude a separate peace with Israel which served Jordan's interests. The situation, though, was different to that prevailing at the time of the Egyptian peace treaty with Israel, not least because Jordan could never be considered as posing a military threat to its neighbour. Disputes over occupied territory were also, at the time of the lor-

The Palestinian agreement represents yet another scenario. A Perhaps at this point one should state a self-evident truth; those separate peace deal concluded with the Palestinians served, on countries that have concluded partial agreements with Israel did so some levels at least, as a recognition of a distinct Palestinian idenbecause such agreements served some of their interests, i.e. they tay it might be seen as a manifestation of the paradox in which

an-Israeli agreement, at a low ebb.

Palestinians find themselves. For while Palestinians need to underwrite their independence as a nation with an assertion of their own identity and right to self determination, they have always supported movements for Arab unity. An ironic situation arises: the only nod in the direction of Arab unity condoned by the Israelis has been their desire to see Palestinian negotiators incorporated into the negotiating teams of other countries, a kind of backhanded refusal to acknowledge a distinct Palestinian identity. Yet in asserting their identity, the Palestinians have found it impolitic to comply with Israeli demands.

The current situation, though, begs one question: Is it now possible, as we approach the remaining stages of the peace process, to pursue separate settlements on the Lebanese, Palestinian and Syrian fronts? All the signs in place appear to point to one conclusion: that separate agreements with Israel have now been sub-sumed by the desire to achieve a comprehensive peace.

From the very outset of the process President Al-Assad has known that Syria would not be able to conclude an honourable settlement with Israel on its own. The Golan Heights, symbolically and strategically, are of great importance to Israel, far greater than Sinai, while at the same time Syria, unlike Egypt, poses a less serious military threat to Israel. Syria, from the beginning, was in no position to compromise Arab support in the manner Sadat did.

The position of Lebanon is similar to that of Syria. Despite the heroism that has marked Lebanese resistance to Israeli occupation. Lebanon cannot confront Israel on its own. A comprehensive Arab settlement is a must for Lebanon, which has not only to secure its own territorial integrity but must also address the problem of the Palestinian presence in Lebanon. This presence is at the heart of the refugee question, one of the substantive issues on the agenda of a comprehensive settlement.

The settlement seems most complicated on the Palestinian front While a separate settlement is required to underline the national identity of Palestinians, a comprehensive settlement is required if Palestinian demands for the establishment of a Palestinian state, the recovery of the Arab sector of Jerusalem and a stop to the

building of Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza, are to receive any meaningful response.

Should Syria, Lebanon and the Palestinian Authority engage in separate negotiations, they will not achieve the results they desire outside the context of strong and clearly united Arab support. Such support cannot be engendered by, or incorporated in, the mandate of individual delegations. It can be realised only through regular regional — and international — consultations.

The recognition of this fact on the part of the Arab parties to ace is the most important achievement of the Cairo Arab Summit. It is a recognition that Israel's government has always feared, under both Peres and Netanyahu. Indeed, in its level-headed assessment of the problems to be faced in the next stage of negotiations, the summit could well serve as a model for Arab negotiators seeking a comprehensive settlement.

The summit, though, represents a first step on a long and winding road. By inviting Arab leaders to the meeting — after consultations with King Fahd and President Assad — President Mubarak was in fact inviting the Arab parties to initiate a new phase, fraught with risk and difficulty, for the achievement of a comprehensive and just peace. Under Sadat Egypt — forced to accept a separate peace — never abandoned wider Arab issues. Under Mubarak too. Egypt is steering a course towards a comprehensive peace, without forfeiting the achievements of previous separate

It is surely no coincidence that, just as Israeli fears are reaching new heights, the reins of power should have been handed over to the Likud. And in the face of the new realities heralded by the Cairo summit, one question poses itself. Will the Israeli prime minister persist in his obsolete demagoguery? Will he continue simply to shake his head and say no, no to the return of the Golan, no to the establishment of a Palestinian state, and no to the return of East Jerusalem?

The writer is the editor-in-chief of Al- Siyassa Al- Dawiliya (International Politics) Journal.

Nehad **Selaiha** is bowled over by Yukio Ninagawa's Kabuki Medea



ledea in drag

Until last week, and despite what all the theatre history books say. 'Cleopatra performed by a male' had always seemed to me a preposterous proposition - one that required a fantastic leap of the imagination. I had felt sure that whatever 'boy actor' undertook the part in Shakespeare's day must have mangled it, producing a pitiful travesty of the Egyptian queen. I had also re-sented the idea of males usurping the voices and identities of women and ousting them from the public performance arena in the name of theatrical conventions. As a reasonable human being and mild feminist, the exclusion of women from the theatre in whatever age or country, in ancient Greece, Elizabethan England or 17th century Japan (female performances were banned by the authorities in 1629), seemed to me not only outrageously unfair and deeply offensive. but also contrary to the spirit of theatre itself as carnival and a festive communai event.

On the few occasions I had the chance to watch a Kabuki performance. a form of theatre exclusive to male actors, such feelings had always coloured my reception. I still remember my vicious delight at the audience's baffled reaction to the classical Kabuki play presented at the official opening of the Opera House nearly eight years ago. It was a solemn occasion, attended by the president and his wife plus an exclusive audience. Nevertheless, after the 15 minutes of stunned silence, and despite the gorgeous, elaborate costumes and scenery, many were fighting desperately to keep a straight face while others sought relief in giggles and sniggers. The following morning a cartoon by Mustafa Hussein in .41-.1khbar showed a woman in a state of nervous and explaining that her husband had jumped at her from under the stairs, doing a 'Kabuki act'. This signaled a

flood of jokes about Kabuki. On that occasion it was obvious that the Egyptian audience could not connect in any meaningful way, aesthetic

Cairo Symphony Orchestra;

Talents 4; Bizet: The Arlc-

sienne suite no. 2, Farandol;

Mozart: Concerto no 30 in D

minor for piano and orchestra. K466, Ghada Shaker (piano)

and Concerto in B flat major

for bassoon and orchestra, K191, Tamer Kamal El-Din

(bassoon); Mendelssohn: Sym-

phony no. 4 in A major. op. 90

(Italian); Kamal Hilal, con-

ductor; Small Hall, Cairo Op-

Watch the crochets fly and

swing, hear the quavers quiver.

There were notes, notes, notes

everywhere at this concert in the Small Hall. Notes and a

certain pulse of rhythms. But

no beat, beat of the tom-

toms to add that so needed pi-

quant sauce of excitement and

The two soloists, pianist

Ghada Shaker and bassoonist

person, partly in absentia. Strange anomaly. Good eve-

To commence, Bizet, whose

piece Farandol from L'Arle-

sienne suite opened the con-

cert. This was quite straight.

the walls with a harsh exuber-

ant double-fuzz to anything

suit it best.

era House: 30 June

Music

or otherwise, with the spectacle on offer. With no previous experience of this art form and very little knowledge as to what to expect, they had found the movements and the vocal delivery of the performers almost outlandish.

Last Saturday, however, at the Ninagawa Company's production of Euripides' Medea, it was a different story. At the same place, in the main hall of the Opera House where the earlier Kabuki performance had taken place, director Yukio Ninagawa

showed us what a tal-

ented, imaginative artist

could do with old forms

and conventions. Many of the basic features of classical Kabuki were there: the carefully regulated and choreographed movements (known as kata or forms); the poses (mie) which accentuate the climactic moments of the action, the use of the traditional three-stringed musical instrument called shamisen, of wooden clappers to orchestrate the per-formance and highlight perthe climaxes and, above all, the use of onnagata, or male actors in female roles. But while preserving them, Ninagawa. like a real master, managed to break through

novations. What he achieved in his version of Euripides' Medea to very shrewd and happy choice of text) was not simply a perfect fu-

with his own in-

and Western modern realism or a bridging of the past and the present, as has been said, but also what one can only describe, in terms of its impact, as a kind of mystical union of maleness and femaleness in the figure of the great Tokusaburo Arashi as Medea.

From an obvious symbol of femaleness - traditionally conceived and visually rendered in terms of dress, gesture, movement and mask — we watched him transform himself, wizard-like, into a warm, vibrant human presence that transcends sexual difference and bodies forth in vivid details the warring passions of all humanity. In this respect, not only the acting - the intricate voice manipulation, the deeply compelling full-body techniques and



logical realism — but also Jusaburo Tsujimura's costumes played a crucial role. They were naturally, as one expects all costumes in Noh and Kabuki performances, rich and sumptuous in colour and material, delicately embroidered and exquisitely designed. Ac-

adapted traditional Japanese costumes to a modern primitivist style, using a variety of Kimono materials, and the capes were handmade from 50 pieces of embroidered antique silk sashes. But apart from their great beauty, which delighted the eye, the costumes, in harmony with the movement, were used in the case of the chorus to structure the performance space and build sequences of powerful, evocative stage images. In the case of Medea they had the added dramatic function of underscoring her growing despair and loneliness and her final rejection of the traditional stereotypes of the submissive female, the obedient wife, and the tender, self-sacrificing mother. Arashi appears first richly decked out in full feminine regalia. As the play progresses he begins to strip, taking off the heavy bejewelled hat first, then the wide, colourful cloak, and finally the intricately embroidered outer garment. He is left with a very simple, close-fitting long dress, the colour of blood and matching skull-fitting bonnet. At this moment, the whole body, freed from the constricting traditional trappings of femininity, becomes a stunningly eloquent medium of expression, shedding its earlier stylised patterns of movement and gesture, and growing freet and more passionate. Curiously, it was the sight of this

cording to the notes on the production

printed in the pamphlet, Tsujimura

thin, gaunt, male body, tensed up in rage, pitifully contorted in agony or dashing around blindly, like a wild, caged bird, that brought home to me, for the first time in performance, the mies' mom full weight of Medea's tragedy as woman and human being. It reminded me that great acting, whatever the sex of the performer, could transcend all limitation, including those of sexual thinking that given a director of Nin-

uses it like a voice. With no

trouble he floats the sound far

up and out of the noisy Small

Hall into a place of con-

templation where this long ne-

glected, eccentric instrument

enjoys its own poetry.

And so to Italy with Men-

delssohn's no. 4 in A major.

The colour is zircon blue. It

blows along in the opening: fresh sea breezes, the siren

South of Dryden and Goethe.

The latter went over the Alps

and far away — blue taffeta

skies and Tintoretto colours:

speed, rhythm, youth and no

regrets. Is there anyone who

has ever been really, totally

happy? Mendelssohn seems

to have been, and he paid the

price for it. All angels pay the

price for their own dazzle. They phut out like errant stars.

Everyone loved this wonder. He had everything of value in

addition to his millions. But

they were part of his skin, and

he with total Olympian in-

difference never had to look

down so far as to see the hand

agawa's imaginative power and an actor of Arashi's emotional range and technical versatility, Cleopatra played by a male was not after all such a ludicrous idea. But then, why not a female Antony, or Lear, or Hamlet?

textiles, woodwork and coins, drawn from Egypt's Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mameluke periods and other countries in the Islamic world.

Mahmond Mukhtar Museum Tahrir St, Gezira. Daily exc Sun and Mon, 9am-1.30pm,
A permanent collection of works by the sculptor Mahmoud Mukhtar (d. 1934), whose granite monument to Saad Zaghloul stands near Qast

River of Fireflies

Listings

A July. Spm.
Directed by Eiso Sugawa (1987). The film captures the first love of a 14-year-old Barbara Graf & Sadhyo Niederherger Mashrabiya Gallery, 8 Chamboy. The beautiful scenery of the four seasons provides a wonderful background for the pollion St., Downtown. Tel 578 4494. Daily exc Fri, 11am-Spm. Until 4 July. Exhibition under the title "The

Galal Abdel-Hay, Eman Sha-hin & Mohamed Ismail Foundation for Hellenic Cul-ture, 18 Sidi Metwalli St, near El-Attarin, Alexandria. Tel 482 with the cinemas. 1598. Until 4 July.
Photographic exhibition under the title "Alexandria 3x3".

Jihan Raouf, Sameh El-Babany & Lobna Zakaria

Khan El-Maghrahy Gallery, 18

El-Mansour Mohamed St, Zamalek, 1el 340 3349, Daily exc

Sin, 10.30am-3pm & 6pm-9pm. Until 6 July. Exhibited under the collective title "Fantasy" are the paintings of the three artists.

EXHIBITIONS

Pottery Exhibition Tottery Exhibition
Gallery Noun. 4 Mahmoud
Abul Oyoun St, off Hega: St,
El-Mahkama, Heliopolis. Tel
248 082. Daily 11am-11pm. Until 7 July.

Artisans from all over Egypt exhibit their pottery work.

Georges Selim (Paintings)
Gallery Salama, 36/A Ahmed
Orabi St. Mohandessin. Tel 346
3242. Daily exc Fri, 10am2.30pm & 5.30pm-9.30pm. Until 23 July. Mohamed Shaker (Paintings) & Tarek Zabady (Sculptures) Extra Gallery, 3 El-Nessim St. Zamalek. Tel 340 6293. Daily exc Sun. 10.30am-2pm & 5pm-

8pm. 9-27 July. Group Show (Paintings & Sculptures)
Espace Gallery, 1 El-Sherifein

St. Downtown. Tel 393 1699. Daily exc Fri & Sat, 9am-Ipm. Until 5 Au-The Museum of Mr and Mrs Mo-

hamed Mahmoud 1 Kafour El-Akhshid St. Dokki. Tel 336 2376. Daily exc Mon, 10am-6pm. Egypt's largest collection of nineteenth century European art, amassed by the late Mahmoud Khalil, including works by Courbet, Van Gogh, Gauguin, Monet and Rodin.

Egyptian Museum Tahrir Sq. Down- Salama Gallery town. Tel 575 4319. Daily exc Fri. 8am-5pm; Fri 9am-11.15am & 1pm-3pm. Outstanding collection of Pha-raonic and Ptolemaic treasures

Coptic Museum Mar Girgis, Old Cairo. Tel 362 8766. Daily exc Fri, 9am-4pm; Fri 9am-11am & 1pm-3pm. Founded in 1910, the museum houses the largest collection of Coptic art and artefacts in the

FILMS

Qasr El-Aini St. Garden City. spectacular scene of one mil-

Commercial cinemas change their programmes every Mon-day. The information provided is valid through to Sunday af-ter which it is wise to check

Mit Fall Mit Feli Rivoll II, 26th July St, Down-town. Tel 575 5053. Daily Ipm, 3.30pm, 6.30pm, 8pm & IOpm. Diana Palace, 17 El-Alfi St, Emadeddin, Down-town. Tel 924 727. Daily 10am, 1pm, 3pm, 6pm & 9pm. Tiba II, Nasr City. Tel 262 9407. Daily 10.30am, 3.30pm, 6.30pm & 9.30pm. Starring Hesham Saleh Selim and Sheriban as a husband and wife who, upon being givand wife who, upon being giv-en the opportunity of chosing a new father, choose the same rich man and end up as sib-

Ys Donis... Ys Gharami (Life... My Passion) Rivoli I, 26 July St. Down-town. Tel 575 5053. Daily Ipm. 3.30pm. 6.30pm & 9.30pm. Roxy, Roxy Sq. He-lionelly Tel 258 0344. Daily liopolis. Tel 258 0344. Dally 10am, 3pm, 6pm & 9pm. Tiba I, Nasr City. Tel 262 9407. Daily 10.30am, 3.30pm, 6.30pm & 9.30pm. Magdi Ahmed Ali's debut film explores the intimate

lives of three women played by Leila Elwi, Elham Shahine and Hala Sedqi. Esharet Morour (Traffic

Light) Miami, 38 Talaat harb St.

psychologies, interests, frus-trations and ambitions of all

the film's characters as the

are stuck in one long traffic

El-Raguel El-Shares (The

Savage Man)
Lido, 23 Emadeddin St.

Downtown. Tel 934 284. Daily

10am, 1pm, 3pm, 6pm & 9pm.

Tahrir, 112 Tahrir St. Dokki.

Tel 335 5726. Daily 3pm, 6pm & 9pm. Karim I, 15 Em-adeddin St, Downtown. Tel

924 830. Daily 10am, 1pm,

3pm, 6pm & 9pm. Starring Cyndi Crawford and William Baldwin.

MGM, Maadi Grand Mall.

Kolleyat El-Nasr Sq. Maadi. Tel 352 3066. Daily 10am,

Ipm, 3pm, 6pm & 9pm. The seven deadly sins are sev-

Mall. Roxy. Heliopolis. Daily 1pm, 3pm 6pm & 9pm. Johnny Depp carries his self-esteem a little too far, while Mardon Brando and Fave Dang.

Marion Brando and Faye Dun-

away enjoy a rebirth of their

Radio, 24 Talaat Horb St. Downtown. Tel 575 6562. Daily 10am, 1pm, 3pm, 6pm & 9pm. Normandy, 31 El-Ahram St. Heliopolis. Tel 258 0254. Daily 12.30pm, 3.30pm, 6.30pm & 9.30pm.

El-Haram, El-Haram St. Giza.

I, El-Horreya

en ways to die.

Doz Juan

Jemanji

Yankee Zulu

El-Horreya

Fair Game

Downtown. Tel 574 5656. Daily noon, 3.30pm, 5.30pm & 8.30pm. Sphinz, Sphinz Sq. Mohandessin. Tel 346 4017. and the controversial mum-Daily 8pm. Cosmos I, 12 Em-adeddin St. Downtown. Tel 779 537. Daily 10am. 1pm, 3pm, 6pm & 9pm. Khairi Bishara depicts the

Islamic Museum Port Said St. Ahmed Maher St. Bab El-Khalq. Tel 390 9939/ 390 1520. Daily exc Fri, 9am-4pm; Fri 9am-11.30am & 2pm-

A vast collection of Islamic arts and crafts including mashrabiya, lustreware ceramics,

Museum of Modern Egyptian

Opera House Grounds, Gezira. Tel 340 6861. Daily exc Mon, 10am-1pm & 5pm-9pm.
A permanent display of paintings and sculpture charting the modern art movement in Egypt from its earliest pioneers to latest practitioners.

Mohamed Nagui Museum Château Pyramids, 9 Mahmoud Al-Guindi St. Giza. ings of Mobamed Nagui (1888-1956).

El-Nii Bridge.

Heat Ramsis Hilton I. Corniche ElNil St. Tel 574 7436. Daily 10.30am. 1.30pm. 3.30pm. 6.30pm & 9.30pm. El-Horreya II. El-Horreya Mall. Roxy. Hellopolis. Daily Ipm, 3pm. 6pm, 9pm & midnight. Robert De Niro, a highly professional gangster, and Al Pacino, the cop in charge of arresting him, meet face to face in a powerful confrontation during which their talents reach their peak. Directed by

Copy Cat
Cairo Sheraton, El-Galoa St,
Giza. Tel 360 6081. Daily
10.30am, 1.30pm. 3.30pm.,
6.30pm, 9.30pm & midnight.
El-Salam, 65 Abdel-Hamud
Badawi St, Heliopolis. Tel 293
1072. Daily 3.30pm. 6.30pm &
0.30pm.

Michael Mann.

Dead Man Walking Ramsis Hilton II, Corniche El-Nil St. Tel 574 7436. Daily 10.30am, 1.30pm, 3.30pm, 6.30pm & 9.30pm. Starting Susan Sarandon and Sean Penn in an Oscar award-winning film.

The Overt Cosmos II, 12 Emadeddin St. Downtown. Tel 779 537. Daily 10am, 1pm, 3pm, 6pm & 9pm.

Broken Arrow Karim II, 15 Emadeddin St. Downtown. Tel 924 830. Daily 10am, 1pm, 3pm, 6pm & 9pm.

Sudden Death Metro, 35 Talaat Harb St, Downtown, Tel 393 3897, Daily 10am, 1pm, 3pm, 6pm &

Drep Zone Ramsis Hilton, Corniche El-Nil St. Tel 574 7436. Daily

> Man Without A Face Tahrir, 112 Tahrir St. Dokki. Tel 335 5726.

Thur & Sat, midnight. Normandy, 31 El-Ahram St. Heliopolis.

Tel 258 0254. Daily.

DANCE

La Scala De Bar-Cairo Internationa Conference Centre, Nasr City. Tel 263 4631/2. Until 6 July. 8.30pm & 11.30pm.

THEATRE

El-Amirs. Tantazer (The Princess Awaits) Zaki Tolaymat Heil, El-Tali a Theatre, Ataba. Tel 937 948. Daily exc Tues, 9.30pm.

El-Set Hods (Lady Hods)
National Theatre, Ataba Sq.
Tel 911 267. Daily exc Wed. 9.30рт.

El-Kharta Fi Warta (The National Theatre, as above. Thur-Sat, 9pm.

El-Zaim (The Leader) El-Haram Theatre, Pyramids. Road, Giza. Tel 386 3952. Daily exc Tues, 9.30pm.

Dastoor Ya Siadga (With Your Permission, Masters) El-Fann Theatre, Ramses St. Tel 578 2444. Daily 10pm, Sat

Norhan Wal Amir Morgan (Norhan and The Prince Morgan) Puppet Theatre, Ataba Sq. Tel 591 0954. Daily 6.30pm.

Qasr El-Nil Theatre, Qasr El-Nil St. Tel 575 0761. Daily 10pm, Mon 8pm. Scripted by Mahdi Youssef, starring and directed by, Mo-

Bahlool Fi Istambul (Bahlool in Istambul)
Ramsis Hilton Theatre, El-Galaa St. Tel 574 7435. Daily exc Mon. 10pm.

All information correct at time of going to press. However, it remains wise to check with venues first, since pro-grammes, dates and times are subject to change at very short

Please telephone or send information to Listings, Al-Ahram Weekly, Galaa St, Cairo. Tel 5786084. Fax 5786089/833.

Compiled by Injy El-Kashef

Tel 385 8358. Daily 10am, 1pm, 3pm, 6pm & 9pm. Japanese Cultural Centre, 106



CERAMIC works by young Egyptian and foreign artists are exhibited at both the Museum of Modern Egyptian Art and Akhenaten Gallery. The Egyptian Centre for International

Cultural Cooperation hosts paintings by Salah Zaki, notable for the articulation of pictorial space by a subtle blending of col-Khan El-Maghraby shows new work by

Sameh El-Banany, Djehane Raouf and Lobna Zakariya. All three take one of the traditional subjects of still life — the flowexciting ways.

The Opera House gallery is given over to expressive faces, melancholic and piercing, by Fakhri Osman. Also at the Opera ing, by Fakhri Osman. Also at the Opera House is an exhibition by Magid Abdel-Razik, entitled "Contemplations", featuring depictions of traditional weddings.

Reviewed by Nagwa El-Ashri

Open wide the windows

David Blake takes in the fresh air with Mozart and Mendelssohn



Ghada Shaker

Tamer Kamal El-Din were above a mezza-forte. So pro- straight in. This is a star piece little tune which darts out tofine. The Cairo Symphony Orchestra were there - partly in ceeded the concert. Some conductors can bring some sweet-Strange anomaly. Good evening, said they. Then, rather in ness into the limited overcharged space, but Kamal embarrassment: for what ex-Hilal did not have the trick. He angered the place and got in return only an approximation of a good classical tone - which was what was needed for this concert. Better keep to the middie of the road - don't fly off into the bushes and scrub-land

rather hard sounding, with plenty of brassy noise. That's the way of this dance. But as at the sides. First came the Mozari piano the concert wore on, it once again became obvious that the concerto in D minor, K466 with Small Hall is the villain, caus-Ghada Shaker in control. This ing problems for any concert is Mozart in Don Giovanni given within its overmood. It's a grand big thing in reverberative walls. No large all of the three sections. Powforces; small string orchestras erful, sometimes dark, seldom with his gift for love and affec-Even the piano has a rough tion. The melodies for pain are really for the piano — in-strumental, percussive, jabbing deal if it opens out fully, as pianos are wont to do in their and thrusting, darkly for-bidding. Nothing singing or grand expansive moods. Chamber music comes off best. They do not burst the sound easy. The pianist knew all about this. She was direct, no barriers, but an orchestra of some size puts the hall into an nonsense, no trace of dear Amaangry fit of protest and it deus to charm us, but forceful. whams the sound back from statuesque, with the correct flair

of cynical bravado. Schooling. No soliciting the lis-Mozart and Strauss did. And so At the opening Shaker drove tener. The off-hand stabbing does Tamer Karnal El-Din, who of cynical bravado.

— shapely, deep shadows, with no fairies in these shades, just a few very tall, well-dressed deus's nose in the air, a shrug, fiends. The piano made the and then — no one else in all tunes painfully clear cut. The music can so deliver a polite orchestra, suffering from Small Hall laryngitis, was dumpy, but picked up in the next movement, the Romance. There is not much romance in the notes. There was none in the piano playing. She was honest, no passion — anger instead. Ghada Shaker's technique is fully equal to the demands to the D minor. She could even make an insolent attack on the phrase endings which culminate mostly in an angry trill. All these

she did, timely, on the beat and exciting. In control, on top, and never wavering. It was very good to hear. There are spots in the romance where the music droops and slides which might certo. Plenty of brass behind have had greater nuance, but this player went for direct force once again). The slow part of mance to say the least.

wards the end was good. It is really rather insulting Amamusic can so deliver a polite put-down. An avuncular encounter. And so bassoonists do play this strange instrument which

looks like the carnivorous venus fly trap. Tamer Kamal El-Din, tall as his instrument, made it sound positively maternal. At least he took it out of the jungle. The sound is neither brassy nor trumpet-like. but gently humorous and with an operatic ability to do coloratura, trills and rapid beats. He seems like a virtuoso. Everything was done with ease and perfect tunefulness. In this work Mozart lays on the charm denied to the piano in the previous conhim, very loud (the Small Hall and carry on. It was a cool ro- the concerto is mournful - 2 touch of the funereal, fitting be-In the last section Shaker cause the bassoon has a smoky showed real distinction of tone. Who loves the bassoon?

that wrote the cheque. The gods loved him so well they took him before the smallest fleck of earthly attrition ever touched him. The music catches the breath. This performance of the Italian symphony did not. Let's continue to blame the Small Hall. From opening to end the poor strings doing their best were totally drowned by the brass, winds

> to flutter and soar during an opening which must set the picture of the Grand Tour. There were strange digestive rumbles in the orchestra foreign to Mendelssohn. They continued until the end. No colour blue and no rippling seascapes. But at the end, in the last movement, the horns finally righted themselves with no frayed edges and gave the cry: I love Italy, everyone loves Italy and everyone loves

and basses. Everything blew

over the top of the strings so

there was not much sea wind

Around the galleries





Hassan Fathi: Was he the model for the architect Dimitri, the central character in Lawrence Durrell's unfinished novel Village of Turtle Doves?

The tale of two villages

The story of New Gourna, Hassan Fathi's ideal village, provided the basis for Peristerona, the village at the heart of an unfinished and unpublished novel by Lawrence Durrell. **David Roessel** examines the links between the English novelist and Egypt's most celebrated architect

Caradoc was gorgeously, cavernously drunk "Three bloody years spent building the perfect village, the perfect township which nobody would ever live in Peristerona, Village of Turtledoves, or Turtledoveville. Someday someone really ought to write it all down. If you knew all the facts, the ins and outs, as I do, old man."

"Why not tell the whole story from the beginning." I suggested.

"Pass the wine," murmured Caradoc, "and I'll see if I can remember everything exactly as it happened."

Peristerona means "village of turtle doves" in Greek, but in a letter to Austen Harrison, an English architect whom Durre met on Cyprus, be referred to the work-inis as "the story of Gourna transplanted to Greece." work on Cyprus, and sought information about town planning from the public work department of the island, I had assumed that the setting was Cypriot, and had looked there in vain for a Gourna or Peristerona which might have sparked Durrell's imagination. One night I had all of the topographical maps of Cyprus stretched out on the tables of the library in the Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute. I groaned aloud — "Where the hell is Gourna?" and a calm low voice behind me answered "in Egypt". And after consulting a few references it did indeed become increasingly clear that the Egyptian Gourna was in fact Durrell's Gourna and what I had originally thought might be inspired by a small scale colonial building project on Cyprus was in fact a reflection of one of the most famous architectural creations of this century.

Site discovered, we can finally come close to doing what Caradoc originally proposed — starting at the beginning and remembering everything exactly as it hap-

Durrell's tale begins with the appearance of antiquities on the black market, which are eventually traced to a single source — a village "built on the site of an ancient necropolis. Under the houses apparently lie tombs, which are stealthily rifled by the villagers. They probably dig through the stable floors. They are getting good prices for this stuff, bence their distrust of visitors and questions." In Gourna: A Tale of Two Villages Hassan Fathi has a section titled "A Tomb Robbery Begets a Housing Project" and goes on to say: "The village of Gourna is built on a site of the Tombs of the Nobles... Their [the villagers'] economy was almost wholly dependent on tomb robbing. The only solution was to rehouse them, but hitherto this had been far too expensive a proposition."

Durrell clearly intended to continue to employ information about the Gourna project in later passages. The notes in which he sketched an outline of the work include the following "No money? Local Brick? J. Blenkensop indation."

v while Hassan Fathi's decision to use mud brick to texclusively economic, the fact that raw materials were inexpensive and accessible did play a part in his thinking and that of the officials who commissioned him to build Gourna. It is clear Durrell intended to introduce Hassan Fathi's innovative construction technique, but the notes provide no clue as to how he would use it.

At another point Durrell wrote "Dimitri to be charged with misappropriation of public funds". His arrival in the capital to face these charges "coincides with the first batch of foreign releases on Peristerona. Volte Face. Project must be finished." Fathi ran into problems with local administrators, who, among other things, accused him of "two grave irregularities in our proceedings" relating to

financial matters. Fathi speaks of a big report that gathered signatures in a number of ministries which would have taken responsibility for the Gouma project away, from him. It was not the foreign press, however, but firm support of the Egyptian Undersecretary of State, which allowed Fathi to go forward:

Another note reads: "Work proceeds, But the inhabitants of old Peristerona have now learned they will be forced to move. Dimitri and Caradoc summoned to Palace. Phone call. Dam opened. They return by air. Plimsoll mark. Units of the Greek army close the cocks in [first]."

An incident like this actually happened. Fathi had gone to Cairo after the receipt of a telegram from the Under-secretary of State in September 1947. While there, he re-ceived a phone call that the dyke protecting Gourna from the rising of the Nile had been broken and the village was flooded. On his return to Luxor, an agonising overnight journey by train rather than plane, he found the water had only risen a metre and a half on the western side. He goes on: "All the Gournis had refused to work on the dyke, and even those who had been rounded up the night before and put to work had made off through the water under cover of darkness, rather than help to save their new village. While working, they had contrived to widen the gap with their feet while ostensibly filling it with their hands." After the sabotage, the government sent in an investigator. According to Fathi "they went round the village, asking 'did you pierce the dike?' Every villager in turn replied 'no' and when the attorney had filled up three sheets of legal-sized paper with these answers, he went home satisfied the matter had been investigated." The story of Gourna provided endless possibilities for the

Durrell obviously had a good source for the "Story of Gourna," an inside source. Fathi's book was published for the first time in 1969, and while there had certainly been newspaper reports about the Gourna project, Durrell could only have learned the inside story, the "ins and outs" such as the campaign by certain officials against the new village and the attempt by some villagers to break the dyke from someone very familiar with the project. And, on Cyprus, Durrell had met just such a source; the identity of whom, in my view, is signaled in the selection of the name Dimitri for the Greek architect. Dimitri Papadimos was a photographer on the Gourna project. It cannot be a coincidence that Durrell met adimos shortly before he (Durrell) began work on A Village of Turtle Doves in 1956. Durrell may also have received some information about Gourna from Austen Harrison — the mention of the story of Gourna in the letter from Durrell to Harrison suggests that they had discussed Fathi's project. But Harrison's source was, in all likelihood, the same as Durrell's. Papadimos was a friend and protégé of Harrison, whom he met in Egypt in 1938 if not earlier. Papadimos may have got the position of photographer on the Gourna project on the recommenda-

tion of Harrison.

Harrison was based in Egypt from 1937 until he moved to Cyprus in the late 1940s, although he often took jobs which demanded his presence elsewhere. While Fathi described Harrison as an old friend, this does not prove that they knew each other in Egypt, since Fathi spent some time in Athens in the 1960s when Harrison was living there. In any case, Harrison was not intimately connected with the building of New Gourna in the way that Papadimos was. The Greek photographer remains the best candidate for the details of the ins and outs of Gourna.

I could dwell further on Durrell's incorporation of facts about Gourna and his sources for these facts, but I think

that I have said enough. What is of interest is how Durrell shaped the story of Gourna for his own purposes, how a real project on the Nile became Durrell's tale of Paristances

The most important alteration is that Durrell's story of Gourna is not simply a tale of two villages, but a tale of two architects. The native architect, the Greek Dimitri, a young man of 25, is described "as harmless and delightful as he was talented," but something of a dilettante with violent yet changeable enthusiasms. He is the one who has "the tantalising image of a dream city, a dream village, rising like a mirage in his soul". He is appointed to the project because all of the architects in the capital did not want to be sent to the provinces. "A groan had gone up from the entire faculty when the minister announced that a model village was to be sited in a remote would willingly isolate himself in so remote a place, far from the capital, to deal with a project that nobody would see. All eyes turned to Dimitri as he sat drawing endless men in bowler hats on a sheet of foolscap, hardly listening to the argument as it wound its tedious way along. He had not protested when they unanimously agreed he was the man for the job."

This happened before the English changed the prestige of the project by "appointing one of their top planners to share the task, and to be able to say one had worked with the great Caradoc was a tremendous thing for a young architect: Caradoc of the Katghar suspension bridge, Caradoc of the Carnegie Dome." Caradoc appears to be based very loosely on Durrell's friend Austen Harrison— the Carnegie Dome standing in the for the famous Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem, but how closely is a bit of a puzzle because it is rather difficult to find details of Harrison's life.

Durrell appears to have set up a "colonial farce" in which the leading architect is a gorgeous, cavernous English drunk, "the only town-planner whose streets and thoroughfares are planned expressly for the feet of tosspots tolling home to bed after a stoshing." He is coupled with a bright young native architect who has "tantalising outlines of a dream city, a dream village... rising like a mirage in his soul." While we don't know exactly how the story would be played out, we have a sense of who would do the work and who would get the credit.

It is hard to see from what we have how the change in location from Egypt to Greece would have affected the novel. Durrell planned to make use of descriptions he had made of Macedonia during a holiday in 1952, for in his outline he remarked "Cut Chalkidiki notes in." I cannot say whether Durrell moved the story mostly because he was more familiar with the Greek landscape and village customs and so could provide a more authentic touch, or whether he thought placing it in Egypt would be too close to home for Fathi, Papadimos, and Harrison.

A subplot concerns Dimitri's love affair with the actress Beba, who is also involved with fellow actor Srotan (because she thought, "Occasionally it comes over a girl that she must make love hard — like having a tooth out.") Fathi himself was in an odd triangular situation for a while, but Durrell was quite capable of making this part was without help.

One aspect of the story seems directly connected to Durrell's experience on Cyprus. The Greek minister of the interior tells his prime minister that simple expropriation and removal of the villagers would not be wise. "Excellency. This happens to be a very Turkish village. There are a few Greeks and Vlachs but that is all. They are pretty backward and rough. If we tried force we might have an unlucky incident followed by international

repercussions ...we cannot afford any complaints that we are ill treating the Turkish minority." There were, and still are, some Turkish areas in Greece, mostly in Eastern Thrace. The date of the typescript of the first three chapters 1954 makes this comment especially interesting. The concerns of the Turkish minority were often cited by the British as a reason for remaining in Cyprus.

It would have been extremely interesting to see how Durrell handled the ethnic tensions in this novel, he must have wanted to do something with these tension, because he could easily have left the Greek/Turkish problem out of the novel — it played no role at Gourna and was, as I said, not a problem in the area of Greece where the novel is set. But, unfortunately, Durrell never mentions the ethnic problem again in the existing chapters or the outline.

That takes us about us far as we can go, except to note that the very end of the outline, which refers to a film of the famous project, reads: "What a lot of fuss for a town nobody will ever live in." Juxtaposed with the opening printed art the beginning of this article it gives some idea of the tone which the work would have.

Although Durrell went no further on A Village of Turtledoves, he did not quickly abandon his desire to write the story of Gourna. The rebuilding of Peristeri remained the central focus of several drafts of another work in progress from the early 1960s entitled The Placebo: An Attic Comedy. According to Shelley Cox, who has done an admirable job in examining these drafts Felix Charlek, later the narrator of *Tunc*, joins Caradoc on the Peristeri project at the instigation of Teresa Hippolyta, another character who will figure prominently in Tunc. Cox writes: "About half of the text deals with two trips to Peristeri, the first by airplane for survey purposes only, ending in a mock dive-bombing of the legation lawn, and half with the start of work upon the village, which begins with the destruction of the old Roman dam to recreate the original river... restoring the pre-Roman landscape. The survey party returns to Athens, and the real work on the village has not yet begun". Clearly, here we are getting away from the actual details of Hassan Fathi's New

Unlike the figure of Caradoc, the plot of the building of Peristeri was not included in the next novel which Durrell eventually published — Tunc. Yet Durrell's long reflection about Fathi's dream certainly affected the work. The first draft of A Village of the Turtledoves opened:

"As far as Beauty is concerned," said Caradoc, "what is it? Don't groan, my dear boy, I hate aphorisms as much as you do. But somewhere, at the heart of the matter, there is something accidental, God-given, if you like."

"I don't like."

"Nor do I. Nevertheless something that resides in the divine accident. I have one illegitimate daughter and two conceived in wedlock. Of the three the love-child is the true beauty. The others simply pass muster."

"Unplanned paternity." I said. "Some hints to fathers

by an unplanned father."
"Hell," he said. "You don't listen. The Peristeri project was like that. Three bloody years spent in building the perfect village, the perfect township which nobody would ever live in. A love-child if ever there was one."

"Yes. that too. But when all the conscious thinking and planning was done something else stepped in — the spirit of pure mischief perhaps, of accident. Something for which we had not legislated. It is more perfect than even its builders conceived."

Plain Talk

I am a great believer in coincidences and what has just
happened supports my belief.
On the 27 June the Lawrence
Durrell Conference taking
place in Alexandria ended.
By coincidence, the next day
I received an advance copy
of a book by John Cromer, a
poet who lived in Egypt during the second world war. It
was Cromer who in 1942
met Durrell on his arrival to
Alexandria from Greece.
Cromer at that time was in
field security, responsible for
security vetting of civilians,
and it was his job to take
Durrell to Cairo where he installed him and his wife in
the Luna Park Hotel

the Luna Park Hotel.

John Cromer and I published a book entitled Under Egypt's Spell. As joint memoirs of cultural life in Egypt during the war, the book is a saga of English poets and novelists who were stationed in Egypt and who were directly influenced by the different aspects of the

country.

Cromer's above-mentioned book, Onside of Gemini, is a collection of 99 poems mostly inspired by Egypt. About his poetry collection, Cromer writes: "This period of my life was not only the most fruitful and imaginative in terms of poetry, but also one of the most concentrated and intensely strenuous in developing administrative skill."

Cromer was one of the founders of Salamander, a magazine started by Keith Bullen, at that time headmaster of the Gezira Preparatory School. On Sunday mornings Bullen's drawing room became a literary salon. Among the regular frequenters of that salon were G. S. Fraser, John Waller, John Gawsworth and Darrell Wilkinson. It was there that the seeds of the Salamander Society, which published a number of anthologies of war-time poetry, including Oasis and Return of Oasis, were sown.

I had the pleasure of attending some of the Sunday morning meetings, and I remember that we often crossed the road to the Anglo-Egyptian Union — now the Officers' Club — to carry on discussions with the Personal Landscape group which included Lawrence Durrell, Terence Tiller, Bernard Spencer, Robin Fedden and others. Those days were culturally and artistically rich.

the strange discrepancies of fate — at how, during times of great unrest and travail humanity appears capable of consolidating its artistic output, producing an ever greater quantity art. Perhaps aesthetic production is intimately linked to trauma, is, indeed, an attempt to put order into a disorderly world. And what could be more disordered that a world war? What could fly more in the face of man's aspirations to

I never cease to marvel at

civilisation than such unbridled carnage?

Cromer's collection has a number of poems on Egypt such as "Egypt", "March Winds in Egypt", "October in Egypt", "Egyptian Evening" and others. The poem

"Egypt" begins thus:
"This is the land of veiled expectancy
Where the past rises from

Where the past rises from the weaving sand And the future casts shadows on its own aromach

ows on its own approach
Everywhere is an invitation to colour and fraerance

But the bidden senses find no welcome; The wind sweep of the

palm intrigues

But, bare of intricacy, is soon forgotten."

Cromer's letter echoes a note of hope, but also reflects sadness in its announcement of the passing away of some war-time friends, John Gawsworth, John Waller, Terence Tiller, Lawrence Durrell and Rex Collings. "There are few of us left now," he writes. How true.

Mursi Saad El-Din

The city will follow

Nazek Fahmy reviews the proceedings of the Lawrence Durrell conference, which ended last week

"A brain-child too."

Alexandria has always been and will always be many things to many people, but last week it was for many academics and literary scholars the venue of the 9th International Conference on Lawrence Dur-

rell.
"On Miracle Ground IX", a title which captures the lyricism of Durrell himself, took place between 23-27 June in the Atexandria of the famous Quartet. A function of the International Lawrence Durrell Society — first established 15 years ago — the conference could be said to have been played on home ground, a fact not unprecedented in the Society's fround, a fact not unprecedented in the Society's higher years ago — the conference could be said to have been played on home ground, a fact not unprecedented in the Society's higher years was held in higher since the 1992 literary enclave was held in higher since the site of the lesser-known Avignon Quantary

The one year which Durrell spent in Alexandria,
The one year which Durrell spent in Alexandria,
between 1944-1945, as press attaché to the British
formed itself into the Alexandria Quarter — Justine
formed itself into the Alexandria Quarter — Justine
(1957), Balthazar (1958), Mountolive (1958), Clea

(1957). Baltinozar (1958), Mountainte (1958), Mountainte (1957). Baltinozar (1958), Mountainte (1958), Mount

plays, travel literature, criticism as well as a voluminous correspondence. The result was a conference which was as prismatic and rich as Durrell himself. Physics, religion, philosophy, mythology, architecture, visual and plastic arts, were all brought in to shed light on different genres. The spirits of the living and the dead from Plotinus to Nietzsche, Einstein, Derrida and Edward Said were also called upon to mediate the often elusive and enigmatic Durrellian texts.

Since the publication of the Quartet, scholars have burned the midnight oil debating whether Durrell's Alexandria is real or imagined. Keynote speaker, fellow novelist and native Alexandrian. Edwar El-Kharrat's statement that the Alexandria of the Quartet is a "personal idiosyncratic fable" only opened this particular Pandora's box anew, a fact borne out by subsequent papers.

Such abstractions were for later, "bricks and mortar" were the very concrete substance of Mohamed Awad's presentation which ended with a plea for the the conservation of the cultural heritage of the city. The comparative dimension sparked off by Kharrat's words and presence continued throughout the conference. It was immediately picked up by Fatma Moussa of Cairo University who brought in other Alexandrias including that of the Greek novelist Tsirkas, author of Drifting City. Mary Massoud of Ain Shams pointed out Nagnib Mahfouz's indebtedness to Durrell for the four-fold technique employed in Miramar.

The real Alexandria, despised and rejected, was the subject of many quotations from Durrell's letters in Heba Sharobim's paper. The ubiquitous city came in Malak Hashem's study of the poem "Alexandria", but inevitably other terrain had to be touched upon. Michael Giuven of the Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute regarded the landscape in Bitter Lemons as one imposed on the island of Cyprus while Adrian Barlow of Monmouth School, Wales saw the terrain in Reflections on a

Marine Venus as more integral to Rhodes.

A memorable plenary session included Omar El-

Hakim, David Roessel and Gerald Vincent who combined the world of architecture with that of literature. The theory in question was that Durrell may have transposed Hassan Fathi's New Gourna onto Greece in the three chapters and one page of notes which make up his unfinished novel A Village of Turtle-Doves.

One of the more unusual comparisons was made between Durrell's Quartet and Hawthorne's The Blithedale Romance, a point convincingly argued by Azza El-Kholy of the University of Alexandria. Even more unusual was the correspondence made between the literary text and The City, the famous painting by Mahmoud Said; the disparate link was boldly carried off by Marie Therese Abdel-Messih of Cairo University.

For many Durrell scholars the body is the locus of the action. Both Joseph Boone of the University of Southern California and Roger Bowen of the University of Arizona could read a homoerotic subtext in the Quartet. James Nichols of Georgia Southern University analysed the male characters' eternal

and the second s

search for a mother figure, something that many scholars explain in the light of Durrell's own interrupted childhood. While Shelly Ekhtiar of SUNY College could see how Durrell's women had to be demystified in order to be overcome by the intrinsically weak males, Amany Tewfik of Alexandria interpreted bodily disease and disfigurement in the light of colonial discourse.

in the light of colonial discourse.

Thanks to the efforts of Carol Pierce, head of the Durrell Society, Soad Sobby, conference director, James Nichols, programme director, Ian MacNiven, Durrell biographer, and an impressive organising committee of both Egyptians and foreigners, it was an extremely successful literary gathering. Held at the Cecil Hotel, itself part of the Durrell world, real and imagined, the conference certainly evoked "the spirit of place" as well as a taste of metafiction. It is quite possible that the departing participants, aware that the spell will not easily wear off, could hear the solemn voice of Cavafy, "the old poet of the city", reiterate the famous words "the city will follow

1716

The mountain that roars

Evidence of continuing rock falls in Muqattam may be a prelude to something bigger, reports Mariz Tadros

"Every time I hear the rocks rumbling at night, I grab the children and run to our nearest relative's home. The rocks are so loud that you feel they must be turnbling close to your home. We can't risk it, we run away inimediately before we are killed," said Sa edeya, an elderly woman who lives with her family at the foot of a mountain of rocks in Manshiet Nasser, more commonly known as Hav El-Zabbalin, or the garbage collectors' quarter. Sa'edeya, like many of the inhabitants of this neighbourhood, lives with the legacy of the catastrophic collapse of a 400 ton chunk of rock that cost the lives of 69 people and injured 10 others in December 1993.

Residents whose homes are close to the mountains fear that this may not just have been an isolated incident. Even though authorities have hired companies to dynamite surrounding rocks to avoid any more landslides, the sounds of roaring rocks still keep residents awake at night.

The situation has now reached an impasse; residents dread the rocks and yet they fear abandoning their homes even more. Ateyat, the wife of one of the neighbourhood's garbage collectors and mother of six, is determined not to seek lodging elsewhere even though her home was one of the first to have tumbled down in 1993. Ateyat continues to pay the LE150 mortgage on her destroyed home although she is no longer able to live in what remains of it.

The local authorities asked me to evacuate my home and made me sign agreeing to it... I have been living on the streets with my family — we are eight people living under these rags... and there is nothing I can do. We can't leave, this is where my husband makes a living," said Ateyat. She would rather live in her haphazardly built home on top of a pile of rocks in spite of the dan-

Head of Manshiet Nasser, General Sabri El-Komy, refused to comment on the continuing threat of rocks falling on the neighbourhood and insisted that there are many developments taking place in the area to lessen the risk, such as the introduction of new sewerage facilities

in the area's schools. Housing expert, Dr Milad Hanna said that the Muqattam is considered to be of relatively recent geological age. "In between the clay, there are minute granules which bind the rocks together; the extent of their cohesion can be quite deceptive to many. This cohesion is weakened and destroyed when it comes into contact with water." he

explained Hanna pointed out that a tried, guaranteed not to leak sewerage system must replace the haphazardly uilt ones to ensure the rocks are not affected in a way i at harms the Muqattam's structure. He also added nat the burning of garbage at the site causes chemical changes in the limestone layer of the rocks, and transforms it into calcium carbonate. The mountain must be left free of any more housing construction otherwise its balance will be lost", he said. Practically, it means no more construction "beside it or underneath." it so that it does not collapse like it did in the 1993 ca-

Professor Maged El-Rekaiby, head of the Geological Department of the National Institute for Remote Censoring, said that if the current situation in informally built areas does not change, the danger of catastrophes taking place will increase. El-Rekaiby

stressed that the primary reason behind the de-teriorating conditions of the Muqattam mountains is

Water leaking from informally built sewage systerns and water used for irrigation, both soak through the lower layers of the rocks causing them to crumble and fall," he explained. The fact that in many regions of the mountam, people continue to use the primitive draining ditches for the disposal of their sewage is detrimental to the area. According to El-Rekaiby, "the pace at which informal settlements are being set up is much faster than the rate at which the government is coping with the introduction of sewage facilities for

But El-Rekaiby insists that, "it is not entirely the overnment's fault since the dangers of building on the Muqattam haphazardly have been publicly announced. Yet nobody listens. People go on building anyway, with no permits and in areas which are not serviced by the sewage network. On all sides of the mountain, we see new villas and new make-shift homes built everyday.

El-Rekaiby asserted that this does not mean that the mountain is uninhabitable. But, those who want to live on the Mugattam should avoid building close to the edge where the pressure on the rocks is immense he advised, and they should also not dispose of their sewage carelessly - a factor which adds to rock

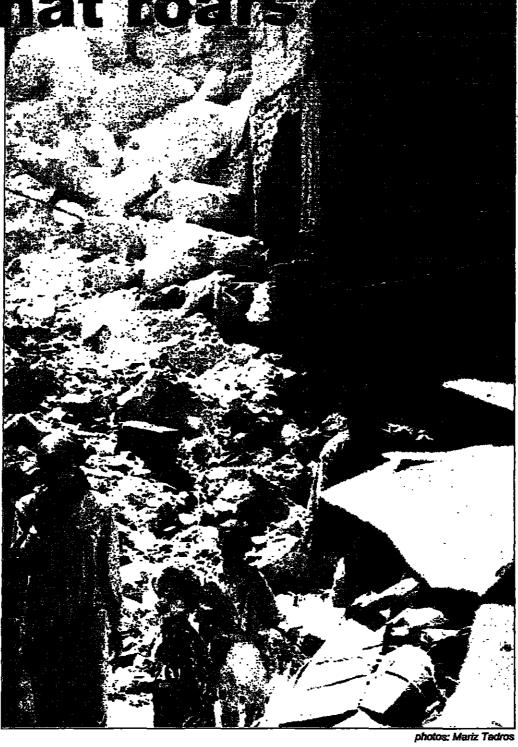
The edges of the mountain on the upper, middle and lower plateaus, from all directions are in danger of collapsing, said El-Rekaiby. "In maybe five or six years time, rocks which are 50 metres away from the edge of a plateau will have broken off and collapsed."

As the situation stands now, the controlling factors against rock fall are few and the size of the rocks falling has become larger which means that today, more than ever before in the history of the mountain, they are likely to fall in huge segments on people.

El-Rekaiby stressed that the evacuation of the area is unrealistic and therefore the one solution is to introduce a proper sewage system not for one community but for all the communities living on the Muqattam if they want to save the mountain from breaking down. The situation is becoming desperate with the emergence of caves inside the mountain which threaten the upper layer of the rocks, upon which houses are built.

Rafat Zaki Guirgis, a geologist at the Institute for the Geological Survey of Egypt has been recording the changes in the mountain texture for the last few years. He warns that the risks of breakdown are highest now because there is increased pressure on the middle 12-metre limestone layer which in turn puts stress on the bottom layer. "This displaces rocks and when you have a series of rocks all leaning over, rubbing onto each other, more rocks are bound to fall. According to our recordings, the cracks in the rocks and the gaps between them have increased dras-

tically since last year," he explained.
Guirgis asserted that the upper plateau is also in serious danger of collapsing and bringing down the expensive villas built on it. Since 1986, the institute's recordings show that 40 metres of the plateau have fallen, with most of the rocks falling onto the middle plateau. People competing to build their homes on the edges of the south cliff of the upper plateau have re-



cently been deterred by the cracks moving inwards and have abandoned their homes, added Guirgis.

Guirgis stressed that the urgent need for proper sew-erage would alleviate, but not solve the problem, since the rocks will take at least a year to dry up "and that is after special pumps are brought in to suck out all the water that has soaked into the rocks.

Dr Ramsis Nashed, head of the Seismology Division of the National Institute of Astronomical and Geophysical Sciences, warned that the toll of water leakage and dynamite explosions has reached dangerous proportions. Nashed said that a meeting last week with Dr Venise Kamal Gouda, minister of scientific research, and other concerned parties addressed the effect of quarrying on the rocks and ways of limiting dy-namite explosions which "could lead to the downfall of the mountain if they are not brought under control".

Nashed conceded that "30 per cent of the quarries have exceeded the point of danger in the Muqattam. We are not asking companies to stop, we are just asking them to limit or control the number of explosions spreading them over a longer period of time. This would not affect their profit margin." He stressed that 2.5 tons a day is the maximum capacity for the Mugattam rocks.

However, Nashed called for an immediate halt to haphazard quarrying. "I have reported it to the authorities but they told me that they know nothing about it although I am sure that these operations do take place during the night because people in the neighbourhood have complained about the noise", said Nashed. He added that the rocks that collapse everyday in New Maadi, 15 May City and in the Muqanam area, are from the effects of quarrying.

Pourri

Nalk-about

My friends called her Ninji, after the hero of Children of the Dreaming. He had been left by a pond, by his mother, while she gathered water lilies and had disappeared when her back was turned. "Ninji was stolen, he did not run away." I protested. "She will be too, if she keeps giving you the slip," predicted one of my friends.

From the time she learned to crawl, my daughter had developed the strangest propensity to suddenly take off and disappear. One minute she would be quietly playing at my feet, the next, she would be nowhere to be seen. She had a knack for finding nooks and crannies in the flattest terrains, the most unadventurous-looking rooms. She covered incredible distances within seconds and ignored obvious hiding places. It was never easy to find her. By the time she was two, I was a nervous wreck. Wherever I went with her, I used to automatically shut windows, bolt doors and look for tight corners where she would have a chance to hide. Robyn, my next door neighbour, claimed that the child had Aborigine blood. They suddenly up and go, just like your daughter and nothing stops them. It is called a walkabout," she would tell me. Although I found the remark irrelevant and not particularly helpful, I forgave Robyn, because, of all my friends, she was always the first to answer my frequent calls for help every time I could not find the baby. She also kept her cool when I lost mine and acted irrationally, searching inside the washing machine, the oven, or under the bood of the car.

I remember one particular occasion when the three of us went shopping. I always carried my daughter in my arms, the surest way to control her, I had decided. "Put her down," said Robyn as we entered a department store, "Don't worty, I'll watch her." A minute later, the baby was gone. Robyn look mystified: "How did she do it." she wanted to know. I was so upset, I became incoherent and apart from abusing Robyn, I accused the customers of having kidnapped my daughter. Robyn showed the control and poise that I lacked, when dealing with the store's security people, who had been called in, to sort out the problem" and who were much more interested in getting me to stop attracting attention, than in looking for my daughter. She calmly directed a systematic search of the store, while the customers were asked not to leave. Someone eventually found the baby, sucking her thumb, covered from head to toe by a long evening dress hung on a rack close by. For a long time after this incident I only shopped by telephone.

No matter how many restrictions I placed on her movements however, my daughter was not to be outdone. One early morning I gave her breakfast and went back to sleep, listening to her chatter, secure in the feeling that, here at least, I could not lose her: our house had become a regular fortress, with bolts and safety chains on every open-ing. Even my bushand had trouble getting out.

Complete silence woke me up a little later with a strange feeling. Everything was squiet. The neighbourhood was still fast asleep. The baby had stopped chatting. I checked her room. She was a longer in her crib and a chair pulled near the front door, gave me ample proof that she had managed to pry the safety chain open and was gone. My screams woke up not only my husband but all the neighbours as well. I could hear windows being thrown opened and people yelling to each other. "It is Ninji, she is on the run again." Suddenly I realised that my husband was running beside me. "Please," he said, "put this on and I promise I will find her." He was bolding a bath robe. In my panic, I had gone out in the flimsiest of night gowns and my narrow-minded busband was wornied about what people would be saying "I'don't believe this," I hissed. "Our daughter has run away and all you can think of is my indecent exposure?" He nevertheless tried to force me into the robe and while wrestling to free myself, I happened to look up, and just there, on the next-door neighbours' porch, sat the fugitive, with her best friend Lulu, dressing up paper dolls. Leaving my husband holding the robe. I dashed across the lawn and flew up the steps. I grabbed my child. shook her hard and glaring madly, announced in the most un-Doctor Spockish way I could summon: 'Next time you run away, I will beat you black and blue. Understand?'

She must have understood something, as well as observed the bath robe scene and drawn her own conclusions, because a few days later, she came, painfully dragging the robe behind her, and placed it at my feet: "Me go now," she informed me.

Fayza Hassan

What to do about desserts?

Too many kilos but a definite weakness towards sweet fatty foods? Mona El-Tawil explains how to have your cake and eat it too

Who can resist a creamy rich chocolate cake served with a generous helping of fresh whipped cream? Or a mile high strawberry pie with melt-in-your-mouth vanilla ice cream? What about the aroma of cinnamon wafting from the kitchen, promising a chewy coffee cake studded with nuts and raisins?

Desserts... the simple pleasures of life to those of us who firmly believe that no meal can be complete without them. I remember my father always saying that there is an empty spot in the stomach that can not be filled except by dessert, and so from early childhood we developed the sweet tooth and the taste for food that is sugary, buttery and oh so delicious!

helping my mother prepare some really wonderful treat. She was famous for her swiss roll filled with jam and whipped cream, and her peach tarts and meringue pies. But what I remember most are the preparations we used to make every year to get ready for our annual summer holiday in Maamoura. Getting ready for summer meant baking trays and

My fondest memories of childhood evolve around

trays of crisp, ring-like carrot cookies. We would roll out the dough and shape it into rings that were all exactly the same size and line them up one next

to the other, in huge trays that we baked outside at the local baker. Mind you, if one of these cookies was out of line or not exactly the same size as the rest the whole tray had to be redone! Yet we did not complain, even though we made enough to last us and our friends for three months!

Preheat over to 350. Very lightly butter an

11x11 inch pan. Mix all ingredients except

raisins with mixer at high speed for 3 min-

30-35 minutes. Cut while warm and serve.

utes. Pour in pan. Sprinklewith raisins. Bake

Applesance squares

11/2 cups applesauce 3 cups flour

2 teaspoon baking soda

l teaspoon cinnamon

teaspoon baking powder

2 cups sugar

1/2 cup water

6 egg whites

1/2 cup raisins

know today about the dangers lurking in those rich cookies and desserts, or else we would have missed out on a lot of good memories. Since the main ingredient in desserts is butter or

Thank heaven we did not know then what we

oil, it is a challenge if you want to eat healthy, be-

Carrot cake with prune puree 4 cups grated carrot

2 cups sugar I cup crushed pineapple

l cup prune puree

4 egg whites 2 teaspoons vanilla

2 cups flour 2 teaspoons baking soda

2 teaspoons cinnamon

1/2 teaspoon salt 3/4 cup shredded coconut

Preheat oven to 375. Very lightly butter 9x13 inch pan. Combine everything except coconut and mix well. Gently stir in coconut. Pour in pan and bake 45 minutes. Cool in pan and then cut and serve.

cause one of the main points about eating healthy is to reduce the amount of fat in your diet. However, breakthrough research done recently has shown that certain fruit purees can substitute for fat in desserts, and that they will give almost the same moistness and texture in a cake. Specifically, applesauce or prune puree have been shown to duplicate the effect of butter or oil in many cake recipes, and what you do is substitute the same amount of fat in a recipe with applesauce or prune puree. If you want to cut out the fat completely from a cake recipe, you can also substitute two egg whites for one whole egg (as all the fat and cholesterol is in the yolk), and you

can use skimmed milk instead of whole milk. To make applesauce: Peel and chop 6 apples. Just cover with water and cook over medium heat till apples are soft, and then puree. Makes about 3 cups applesauce.

To make prune puree: Combine 1 1/2 cups pitted prunes and 6 tablespoons water in food processor. Pulse until prunes are finely chopped. Makes one

I will share two favourite recipes for you to try out, and I hope this will encourage you to experiment with your favourite recipes.

Sufra Dayma

Kobeba balls

Ingredients: 1/2 kilo minced meat (lean) 1/4 kilo minced meat (cooked) 1/4 kilo pine nuts (fried) 2 1/2 cups crushed white wheat (borghol) 1/2 cup semolina flour

One onion (grated) Salt + pepper + allspice + cinnamon

Method: Cook the minced meat the usual way, then add the fried pines, stir them in, season adding some allspice and cinnamon. Cover and remove from heat. Leave aside to cool off to use as the filling for the Kobeba balls. Mix the lean meat, the onion, the borghol, after thoroughly washing it under running water, the spices, and blend well in an electric meat blender or chopper. You will get a soft blend of Kobeba which you should hand blend well with 5 tablespoonsful of very cold water. Keep your hands moist with tap water, then take some of the blend and form a ball with the size of a large egg. With the thumb of your other hand, push forth the blend to make a hole, turning the Kobeba while pressing with your thumb towards the end, stopping before you pierce through the other end. Fill the hole with the filling set aside, then close the open end by bringing the blend together with your fingertips. After you finish all the quantity, preheat the oil until hot, then gently place the balls in the oil deep frying them. Turn them over when one side is

yoghurt and mint salad <u>Moushira</u> Abdel-Malek

done to fry the whole balls, then remove

onto kitchen blotting paper. Serve with

The dish undressed

Restaurant review

Nigel Ryan on the virtues of simplicity

People are often a little snotty about kebab restaurants. Quite why is anybody's guess, though I suspect that the majority of those who eat out regularly view such establishments as being a trifle unsophisticated. Such a view is really quite unfair since if the meat is good there is absolutely no reason not too just grill it over charcoal. Yet people appear to have an inordinate desire to drench bits of meat in sauce, feeling that if they are paying good money for a meal it might as well be dressed to the nines.

Haty El-Faramawy, on Maarouf Street, between Champollion and Talaat Harb, has no time for such pretensions. It is a large, airy restaurant, with a few tables downstairs set in front of a large tiled picture of a goat, looking alarmingly like Landseer's Monarch of the Glen, and with a much bigger dining room upstairs. It is spotlessly clean, and judging from the afternoon visit I made, very popular. Families crowd the tables, elderly gentlemen eat alone. The menu is simple, offering salads, kebab, kofta and cutlets. All the meat is cooked over charcoal, and is ordered by weight. It is certainly no place for vegetarians, though for the carnivore it may well be sec-

ond heaven. Perhaps, at the height of summer, the fact that the restaurant is not air-conditioned is something of a draw back. But there are fans, and certainly on the very hot day I visited it was perfectly comfortable. The windows are shaded by trees, though they still command a view of the street. It is far from unpleasant to simply sit and watch the world go by. Not that you will be sitting for long. Service is quick, efficient and

We ordered a quarter of a kilo each of kebab, kofta and cutlets. First, though, arrived bread, together with a selection of salads. These included cucumbers, lightly pickled with a little dill, tehina that also, I suspect, included peanut butter, not my favourite combination but one that appears to be gaining in popularity — you encounter it practically everywhere these days — and a mixed salad, heavy on tomatoes and dill. The ingredients were fresh, and if not hugely imaginative were perfectly fine.

Then arrived the plates of charcoaled meat, balanced atop mountains of parsley. Haty El-Faramawy is not the kind of place to burn your meat into a cinder. It was cooked, though not overcooked, and of very good quality. This place obviously has a butcher who can be trusted, a far from common phenomena. The cutlets, though a little blackened on the outside. had not dried out. The kebab was excellent. Both were lamb. The kofta was perhaps the least successful part of the meal, though to complain is really to quibble. Minced, not too highly seasoned, it was adequate. Disappointment focused, I think, on the fact that around the corner is an establishment that makes the finest kofta in town. Such proximity, though, should not deter anyone from visiting Haty El-Faramawy. The food is good, the staff unobtrusive and efficient, and the price, which included soft drinks less than LE40 for two, though the quantities could well have fed three - far from exorbitant. If you can bear to see

Haty El-Faramawy, Maarouf Street, Downtown. Tel: 574 8750

what lies beneath the sauce, pay a visit.

Al-Ahram Weekiy Crossword

By Samia Abdennour

ACROSS 1.Existence (4) 5. Vending 94) 9.Lethal (5) 14.Small wild ox of Celebes (4) 15.Charles Lamb (4) 16.Growing out (5) 17. Vehicle (4) 18.Mass (10) 20. Weather directions (3) 21.Marked out; drafted

22.Certain records, abb. 23.Lose heart (6) 25..... Crayes, Haiti (3) 27.Embrace; fix (4) 28.Frightener, alarmer (8) 33.Balance; extent (5) 35.Foot wear (4)

36.Move hither and thith-Last week's solution

37.Beloved of Zeus, disguised as swan (4) 38.Rapier (5) 39.Frosts (4) 40.Perfume (4) 41.On the shelter side (8) 42.Frolic (5)

43.Fluster; dumbfound (8) 45 Look to be (4) 46.Sward (3) 47.Plate glasses (7) 50.Viper (3) 53.Manifest; unabashed (7) 56.Anatomical extremity

57.Contemplate; speculate (10) 59.Citrus fruit (4) 60.Came up (5) 61.Learned (4) 62.Profess (4) 63.Matched up (5) 64.Dynamic (4)

65 Encloses (4) DOWN 1.Tied (5) 2. Absurd (5) 3.Presage (10) 4.Chew (3) 5.Beta (6) 6. Audibly (5) 7.Long slender sea-fish (4)

8.Per (4)

9.Tributary (6) 10.Pismire (3) 11.Buttocks (4) 12.Above (4) 13.It disperses or con-centrates light rays (4) 19.Tell; communicate (6) 21.Portrayal (4) 24. The North Star (7) 26.Streaked (7) 28. Dispassionate (5)

29.Rent (4) 30.Engine (10) 31.Aiways (4) 32.Relax (4) 33.Boor (4) 34.Relinquish (4)

35.Bundle (4) 38 Equestrian's need (6) 42 Mailed (4) 44.Flung (6) 45.Wiry (6) 47.Dampen (5) 48. Some mortals (5) 49.Presagers (5)

50 Father of Abel (4) 51. Wheys (4) 52. Machination; site (4) 54. Biblical sea vehicle, pi 55.Pant, jumbled (4) 58. Suffix forming nouns (3) 59. Wash against (3)

Paisal Islan

7020

President Hosni Mubarak's address to the 35th IAA World Congress

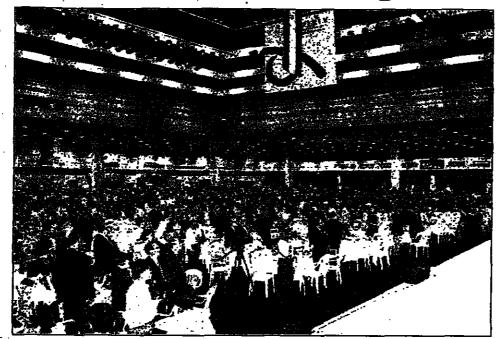
Ladies and gentiemen, Members of the 35th IAA World Congress,

It gives me pleasure to take this opportunity to welcome you to this evening's festivities and to invite you to become acquainted with the 36th IAA World Congress. which will be held in Cairo in May 1988.

I am certain that when you come to Cairo to share in the work of your next congress, you will be given the opportunity to become closely quainted with Egypt, the people and the country.

You are sure to enjoy visiting its unique antiquities, which are a witness to 7000 years of ancient civilization, and learning of its modern renaissance, making your last congress of the century a fruitful experience.

'Interaction' is the theme of the Cairo congress and the choice of the theme and venue cannot be more fitting. The Egyptian civilization is synonymous with communication and interaction between people, cultures and religions. Egypt's history, which is is evidence



Members of the congress standing for the Korean and Egyptian national authems

enough that this interaction is not only possible but is also desirable and full of riches.

The revolution in comworld a small global village, just as the media in have been able to cover a contributing great deal of ground in revolution to find for them-

selves a fitting place on the international map of information. Information's

scope can greatly contribmunications has made our ute towards building bridges and consolidating understanding Egypt in all their forms, cultures and civilizations, towards peace, security and eckeeping pace with this onomic welfare in every part of the world.

I therefore invite you to contribute your constructive efforts, in order to continue your noble goals. In bidding you farewell, I take this opportunity to congratulate you on the success of your 35th IAA World Congress and look forward to welcoming you to Cairo in May 1998.

Have a good evening!

Executive manager of IAA New York: A most impressive speech from Mubarak

MEMBERS of the IAA worldwide gave enthusiastic responses after the success of the Egyptian Night held at the conclusion of the 35th IAA Congress in Seoul. Although complete report next week,

these responses and reactions will be published in a Norman Phil here is a look at what some had to say: Richard Kroner, executive director of the IAA of New York: "What impressed me most was the address of President

Egypt to attend the 36th IAA Congress in 1998. This indicates the Egyptian government's support for the congress, which will be a key factor in making the forthcoming event a successful one. I am certain that preparations for the 1998 IAA Congress are in full swing." in an interview with Mr Norman Phil, general manager of the IAA, he said after a visit to Istanbul, he will stop in Cairo to

Hosni Mubarak, through which he invited everyone to visit

meet Mr Adel Afifi, president of the IAA Egyptian chapter, to review the preparations for the 36th IAA Congress in 1988 which Egypt will host. He added that he visited Egypt 11 years ago, and during

the 35th Congress gained an impressive image of the coun-

try, not only through videotape presentations, but through the









Tamoura folk-dancing troupe and the Oriental music played at the Egyptian Night.

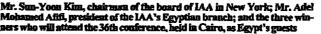
Mr Myung Ha Kim, president of the IAA Korean chapter described the Egyptian Night as beautifully impressive. "It inspired all attendees, and I hope the theme of the 1998 IAA Congress, "Interaction", will be a continuation of the 35th Congress' theme ' New Vision'." He referred to communication as

an important means in the age of the information revolution. Kirn expressed his hope that Egypt would become a global communication centre.

IAA board elections

The IAA board elections are held every two years in the country hosting the congress. Elections for the posts of IAA president, vice-president and board members were held in which Lula Zaklarna won the post of vice-president for conference affairs, and Galal Zaki became a board member.







Mr Adei Mohamed Afifi with three winners from the AdFiesta conference held in Bahrain last April who will attend the Cairo '98 Congress, along with Galai Zaki, IAA board member

THE LEAST that can be said about the Egyptian Night, which took place at the conclusion of the 35th IAA Congress in Korea, is that it was like a beautiful symphony. It was a successful event that generated interest among the 2500 attendees from all countries of the world.

Safwat El-Shertf, minister of information, stated that Mubarak's address was displayed on 3 big-screen televisions at the opening of the Egyptian Night. The address was objective, concise and shed light on Egyptian civilisation.

Mamdouh El-Beltagui, minister of beaches, sports and monuments. All



film was show about Egypt's hotels,



minister of culture

the film.

tourism, said that a documentary attendees were clearly impressed by



Mamdouh El-Beltagui



Ibrahim Nafie chairman of the board and editor-in-chief of Al-Ahram

Egyptian Night. Their performance

El-Tannoura troupe to perform at the tention of all who attended.



Mohamed Amin Shalaqami Egyptian ambassador to Korea

Ibrahim Nafie, chairman off Al-

response was great. Egypt's ambassador to Korea, Mohamed Amin Salagami, did his best to accommodate Egyptian delegation in Korea. He made their stay a pleasant one and attended the rewas the one who recommended the of folkloric dances grabbed the atception party, receiving guests along

with the rest of the IAA members.

Ahram Establishment and editor-in-

chief of Al-Ahram, said that Al-

Ahram spared no effort to support

the idea of the congress, adding that

Al-Ahram became a corporate mem-

ber of the IAA. Al-Ahram also rallied

the support of ministers and officials

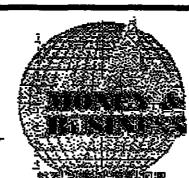
in promoting the Egyptian Night. The

Increase in capital for El-Mohandes

THE BOARD of directors of El-Mohandes Insurance Co. have agreed to increase their issued capital by LE8mn, bringing the paid capital up from LE22 to LE30mn. Samir Mustafa Metwalli, head of the company, explained that the subsequent increase in company shares would be offered to shareholders at the rate of LE10 per share. He pointed out that this decision is in accordance with government regulations which limit the capitals of insurance companies to LE30mn.



Farouk Hosni, minister of culture,



Egyptian-Canadian project

THE MINISTRY of Electricity has devised an ambitious programme for the manufacture of spare parts for generators, the first of its kind in North Africa and the Middle East. The programme, implemented by the Egyptian-Canadian Boilers Co, is aimed at ending international monopolies and providing job opportunities for Egyptian technicians. The company has now begun manufacturing heavy-load boilers according to international specifications.

Faisal Islamic Bank of Egypt

Financial statement as of 18 May 1996

Resuits achieved in LE	18 May 1996	29 May 1995	Growth rate	
Total balance	6424	6226.5	3.2%	
Deposits	5074.7	4933.3	2.9%	
investment balance	5825.1	5665.4	2.8%	
Revenues	570.4	508	12.3%	
Net profits	287.2	245.9	16.8%	

The value of profits distributed during May 1995/May 1996 totalled LE275.5mn in comparison with LE245.9mn during the previous year.

The number of companies which the bank established and in which it holds shares as of 18 May 1996 reached 38, whose total LE1121mn. The bank holds shares worth LE196mn. in these companies.

Egypt in international fashion exhibition in Cologne

EGYPT is participating in the Fashion on Top international exhibition for men's, children's and sports clothing in Cologne, Germany, which will include 1750 companies from 50 countries and 350 international clothing designers.

This year Egypt will be represented by 10 companies in the exhibition, having a prominent position among the 1750 exhibitors, 52 per cent of which are from outside Germany, displaying their fashion designs for spring/summer 1997 on the stage, which takes up 165 thousand sq. m. Among the countries participating in the exhibition: Italy, the United States, Great Britain

and Holland. This year, for the first time, the following countries will participate in the exhibition are 8 companies from the Philippines, 4 companies from Venezuela and 5 companies from the Balkans. Another pavilion will be set up for undergarments and swimwear.

The exhibition will also feature a special pavilion, "Fashion on Top", which will include more than 200 exhibitors from 14 countries offering 350 new designs for spring/summer 1997, from the major fashion houses of Great Britain, Italy and France. The exhibition will also include a special pavilion for casual and

Shoe manufacturers will also be showcasing their latest designs in footwear for spring/ summer 1997 competing among themselves for the spotlight.

The new attraction at this year's exhibition will include, for the first time, a fashion show by the Japanese fashion house Can-Tzu on Friday, 2 August 1996. Can-Tzu wili also be a guest at a discussion of international fashion, which will be translated simultaneously into a number of languages so that attendees from different nations would be able to follow the discussion.

Al-Ahram computer exhibition

IN TAKING interest in the latest de- cooperation with the Faculty of velopments of computer technology, Al-Ahram Establishment is Technology Exhibition which will last from 27 February to 2 March foyer. The exhibition follows the 5th

Computer Science and Data Processing at the University of Helwan; making preparations for the 5th Al- the American University in Cairo; Ahram Computer and Information the National Institute for Telecommunications and Al-Ahram Centre for Management and Com-1997 at the Semiramis Inter- puters (AMAC). The exhibition will continental Hotel in the Cleopatra, be sponsored by some of the largand Nefertitti halls, as well as the est computer companies and banks operating in Egypt: IBM, Xerox, International Conference on Ar- ETS, Blue Max, National Bank of tificial Intelligence, to be held at the Egypt and Banque Misr. Over 35 same location, organised by the companies specialised in the field of Egyptian Computer Association in computers in Egypt will participate.

SMG&W offering free service

SMG&W is now offering a service examination with oil and filter change, absolutely free for its customers.

Shawqi Ghattash, chairman of the board of SMG&W, and Mostafa Wahdan, member of the board, said that this is keeping in line with the company's wishes to provide the best service possible to Mercedes owners in Egypt.

In an interview with Magdi Badir, service manager at the company's location in Ard El-Liwa, Mohandessin, he stated that the service centre has an area of 5000 m2, with 38 work areas, and 3 quick-service areas, equipped with the most modern tools and equipment for tune-ups, wheel alignment, in addition to test equipment of the highest calibre. Its technicians and servicemen have been well-prepared with the highest level of training to carry out their work with efficiency.

Maryam Ghattash, public relations manager, said that the company wants their customers to have confidence in all the services which the company provides to them.



EgyptAir: The first Airbus 321 owner in the Middle East

EGYPTAIR has signed a contract to facilitate the transport of Egypto purchase 4 Airbus 321 planes. allowing non-stop service to all of Europe, most of Central and North Africa and the Arab world.

The Airbus 321 can seat 190 passengers, in addition to 10 business-class seats on each flight. The fully-equipped Airbus 321, capable of flying to the Americas, will replace the carrier's older models and will be delivered during May, June, August and September 1999.

The contract includes a provision for the manufacturing company to convert two 300 B4 planes into cargo planes in order

tian exports, which have shown a marked growth, to the international marketplace. The contract was signed by Mo-

hamed Fahim Rayan, chairman of the board of EgyptAir, and Harry Korenberg, regional sales representative for the Middle East. Rayan stated that this purchase will further modernise the EgyptAir fleet, attracting more customers. He added that while customers are pleased with the economic advantages of the Airbus 320 currently in use, they will further benefit by the company's purchase of Airbus models 340 and 321.



Egypt's five-star hotels are competing to become as green-friendly as can be. Rehab Saad looks into who's made it to the finish line

Caring about the environment now topsthe priority list of Egypt's five-star hotels. They've nurtured a green thumb image and practice by planting trees, protecting the desent wildlife, recycling paper and glass and supporting environmental associations. Some have upgraded their stancards to such an extent that it seems to be a matter of competitive concern.

At the Semiramis, you can now order from food menus made of recycled paper instead of high-gloss ones. No longer are their Christenas cards made of ordinary paper, they are environment-friendly and decorated with embroidery and patchwork by the daucinters of the zubbulin (garbage collectors) at the Moquitam mountain.

After 50 Semiramis employees visited the zahbalin settlement with the Moqattam Environmental Preservation Association last year and got familiar with efforts they could make on their end, the hotel began to separate organic and inorganic waste in its kitchens and other outlets. In this manner, they belo the Mocattarn garrage sorters and reduce health Lazards to them and their families. "Yes, we get publicity from that," admitted Nahila Samak, the Semiramis public relations manager, "but this benefits everybody. Our role should involve more than providing food, drinks or accommodation. If we do not do something soon, it is the fu-ture generations that will suffer."

While the Semiramis is focusing on garbage, the Sonesia hotels are keen on preerving the wildlife of the desert, especially migratory birds. They are cooperating with Dr James Diasmore of Signi Wildlife Projects "We give him food to put in the desert for the birds migrating from Europe to Africa," said Nagwa Emad, director of public relations at Sonesta. "We also encourage schools that hold bird-watching trips by providing children with lanch box-She added that bundreds of species of hirds travel south in the winter and back to Europe in the summer. The majority of the birds take the route through Sinai. "The hig hirds always get stuck there, especially the white storks, which become too weak to complete the migration," said Fmad.

In fact, they get stuck in Sinai because they avoid flying over weter. Rather than crossing the Mediterraneau, they fly via the Levant and down through Sinal where they test briefly to prepare for the shortest possible flight over water into Africa some 130 km between the southern tip of Sinai and mainland Egypt. Unfortunately., many birds are so exhausted by then that they either don't have the energy to make the sea crossing, or they attempt it and perish in the water.

Birds and animals are not the only con-

cern et Sonesta which also cares about making the desert green, "We have an ambitions plan to plant trees on the road from the city of Sharm El-Sheikh to the aircort. We want our children to enjoy a greener environment," said Emad, adding that they're spreading the word with Sonesta's own "Oreen Egypt" stamp for outgoing

Just list month, most of Egypt's five-star hotels finished turning the garbage dump of Al-Fustat, in the Gamaleya district, into a large olive and palm tree garden. Sponsored by the Ministry of Tourion, this ambitious "plant-a-tree" programme required each hotel to plant trees according to the number of rooms it had, resulting in a garden of 5,000 trees. "This is a national duty," said Nagui Omar, deputy general manager of Le Mer-idien Heliopolis. "In Cairo, we need such green areas because it is the lung by which we can breathe. And people should be taught in school how to preserve the en-vironment," he added. In June of last year, Le Meridien Heliopolis beld an environmental day celebration. Labeled "Plant a Tree Today", seeds were distributed to the day's guests -- actors, journalists, government officials, hotel employees, and others - to encourage them to plant trees wherever they could.

Hotels are also asking their guests to protect the environment and save energy. The Luxor Movenpick "Think Green" programme involves asking guests if they agree to have their bed sheets changed every second day instead of on a daily basis. They also ask them to put soiled towels they want replaced in the bathtub. For waste management, office paper is

used on both sides, reducing consumption by 30 per cent. Garden and kitchen green waste is recycled to produce a natural, rather than chemical, fertiliser. Soap bars are also recycled. To protect the environment from chem-

ical pollution, window glass cleaner, bathtub tilex and furniture polish are all prohibited, as are toilet liquid fresheners. To avoid air-pollution, all buses and cars parked in front of the hotel are prevented from running their engines while waiting

At Le Meridien Heliopolis, old carpets are removed from floors under renovation and, if still in good condition, are reused in offices and in the back area of the hotel. Towels, sheets and tablecloths are reused as cleaning cloths, dusters or laundry bags. "We try to use environment friendly products. In this manner, we preserve the en-vironment and save a lot of money," Omar

To prevent sound pollution, they are also making efforts to reduce the noise of motors, machines and pumps. To prevent air pollution, the hotel created non-smoking rooms and non-smoking sections in their

At the Semiramis Intercontinental, water savers have been installed throughout the botel. Energy-saving lamps have been introduced into guest rooms and public areas. Boilers have been converted from oil to gas, and natural gas was introduced to the kitchen. To reduce the use of plastics, the hotel is using wicker baskets to deliver pressed and folded laundry. It also uses carton packaging for soap and shower caps and glass jars for marmalade rather than

plastic packaging.

At the Sonesta hotels, staff training programmes are organised to increase the awareness of the importance of natural resources. "When workers are aware of the importance of preserving the environment, it is easy to convey this to the guest," said

All hoteliers interviewed confirmed that these programmes benefit them as well as the society in which they live. "This indirectly increases the number of my guests. If we are greening the desert, we are making our country more beautiful and this will attract a lot of tourists. The more we preserve our resources, the more people will come to enjoy it," Emad said.

Omar of Le Meridien Heliopolis stressed that these programmes create a new market share and are considered a kind of promotion "because some clients prefer to stay in environment-friendly hotels."

hundred skeletons have been excavated.

fruition when a huge mausoleum was found.

It is believed to

have been built in 980

at the orders of Al-Walda Pasha (the

queen mother) whose

name was Taghrid

and who is believed

by Gayraud to be the

widow of the first Fa-

timid caliph of Egypt, Al-Muezz Liddin Al-

the second caliph, Al-Aziz Bellah. The lat-

ter ruled after his fa-

ther's death and re-

mained in power for

to Gayraud, has never

been studied in depth,

The area, according

twenty years.

private planes

ah, and the mother of



Riddle at Karnak

THE CAMERA of Sherif Soubol roves around

Karnak. Jill Kamil describes his unusual shot. Beneath the giant architraves and between the bulky column and wall reliefs of the Kamak Temple complex at Luxor lie records of the temple's growth from a modest shrine to a local deity - a temple of splendid and unimaginable proportions dedicated to the King of Gods, Amun-Re.

An area of the complex which is infrequently visited - it does not lie on the regular route is the Festival Hall built to the rear of the main temple. As the late afternoon sun shines through a row of square nillars on the western aisle through to the first row of columns of the central colonnade, it casts dramatic light on a somewhat ruined statue to the north which raises some interesting questions.

It is a royal statue, as is clear from the royal skirt with dagger in the belt. But of whom? True, a cartouche on the upper left-hand side of the wall identifies Men-Kheper-Re, which is the prenomen of Thutmose III, but the evidence cannot be taken at face value. It might originally have

been a statue of Hatshepsut that was usurped and re-inscribed by her successor.

The statue seems to have been flanked by two others. A question that presents itself is the nature of the missing figures. Was the king flanked by two goddesses, say Hathor and Mut? Or did the whole represent the Theban Triad of chief god Amun-Re, his consort Mut and son Khonsu?

Unravelling the secrets of the two thousand years during which the temple was constructed has been a major feat of Egyptology, made even more difficult by family rivalries and kingly jealousies, which were often incentives to construct.

Thutmose III was the king who created a vast Egyptian empire in some 1470BC but he was no war-monger. He never appointed governors over the conquered territories. Instead, he gave power to the local chieftains, started cultural relations by bringing sons of the chieftains to Egypt and re-turned them to their homelands after they had absorbed Egyptian culture, ideology and religion. The Festival Hall, like other parts of the Karnak Temple complex, is undergoing conservation.

Mysteries surround unearthed mausoleum

And the second section is a second

each way.

East Delta Bus Company
Buser traval to North Sinal, South Sinai, Sues and Innailla Buses to isnailla and Sues depart from Quiloi
(near Ransis Square), Ahnaza and
Tagnid Square (near Heliopolis), Busto North and South Sinai depart
from the Sinai bus station at Abbussiya
Square, Tel. 432-4753,

Cairo-Ismailia
Services every 45 amustes from 6.30am to from from Qulati, then Almaze and Tagnid Square. Tickets delaye bus 1.85.75; zir-conditioned bus LES.25, one way.

Stations at Talertr . 243-1846.

Services 9ms and 3ms. Tickets LE35

<u>Camy-Ousseir</u> Service 10pm. Tickets LE38 one way.

Service Som. Tickets LE50 one way.

Trains run to Alexandrio, Port Said. Luctor and Assaur, from Ramsis Sta-tion. Tel. 147 or 575-3555.

How to get there

Super Jet stations are located in Al-mans (Heliopolis), Tahrir Gira, Ram-sis Street and Cairo Airport. Buses travet to Alexandria, Port Said, Hur-ghada and Strat. Tel. 772-663.

Cairo-Alexandria
Services almost every half hour from
5.30am to 10pm, from Tahrir, then
Giza, Almaza and the amount. Ticher
LE19 until 5pm; LE21 thereafter from
the surport LE24 until 5pm; LE30
thereafter.
A VIP bus with phone access leaves
Almaza at 7.15am. Tickers from Almaza LE28, from the airport LE32
each way.

Cairo Port Said Services every half hour from 6am to 8am; then 9am, 10am, 3pm, and 4.30pm, from Almsza, then Ramsis Street, Fichery LE15 each way.

Alexandria-Port Said
Service 6.45am, from Ramich Square
in Alexandria, Departs Port Said
3.30pm, Tickets I.EZZ each way.

Cairo-Hurchada Servicer Sum and 2pm, from Tahrit, then Gizz and Almazz, Departs Hur-ghada noon and 5pm. Telests LE40 me-til 5pm, LE45 thereafter, both each

Alexandria Hurphada Sarvice Spm. from Ramich Square, Alexandria Departs Hurghada 2.30pm. Tickets LE60 each way.

Carro-Sharm El-Sheikh Service 11pm, from Tahrir, then Al-mazza. Departs Sharm El-Sheikh 11pm. Tickets LE50 each way.

Services every helf an hour from 6am to 7pm, from Qulali, then Almsza and Tagnid Square. Ticket debute bus

Cam-El-Arish
Servicer every hour from 7.30am to
4pm, from Quisi, then Almazz and
1mmid Square. Ticker dehme bus
1E21; sir-conditioned bus 1E13, one

Cano-Sharm El-Sheikh Services every 45 min. fm 6-30pm from Abbassiya, the Tickets morning LE27 ever

West Delta Ba

Caro-Lazor Service 9min. Ticken LE35 one way

Cairo-Luxor-Aswan

"Brench" delute trains with sleepers
Services to Luxor and Assam 1, 40pm and 9pm (reaching Luxor 0, 40 am and 8am, Assam 8, 40am and (Oam), Italians Assam 8, 40am and (Oam), Italians to Luxor LE294 for foreigners and LE299 for Egyptians, to Assam LE300 for foreigners, LE141 for Egyptians.

8.45pm and 9.45pm. Technic of Lipide. first class. LES1: second class LE61: second class LE63; second class cla ond class 1.E37.

Coinc-Mexicalità
"Torbini" trains
VIP train: Service Sum. Tickers furst
class LE32 with a mest, LE32 suthour e meal.
Standard trains: Services 9am, 1200 noon. Spot and Ipm. Picken line class LET2; second class LE17.

"French" mans Services hourly from 6am to 10.30pm. Ticken first class LE20; second class LE12

Conce-Port Said Services 6.20mm and 8.45mm. Tickets first class LE45; second class LE26.

EgyptAir

mere are between two and five do-mentic flights daily. Check Egyptair. Adv. 390-4999; Opera 390-2444; or Hillow 59-9896. Quin American Chiro-Asymi Ticken LE300 for Egyptisms, LE991 for foreigners, both sound-trip.

Cairo-Luxor
Tickets LE220 for Egyptisms, LE780 for foreigners, both rooms-trip.

Cairo-Shann El-Sheith Tickers LE246 for Egyptishs, LE821 for foreigness, both rousd-trip

Sunny summer deals

Here's a look at the special rates most hotels, especially resorts, are offering to Egyptians and foreign residents.

ingle, LE240 for a double room in-luding service and taxes. Valid until thingsan resulted. Entry for the in a double room including buffer breakfast, service charge and sante. Valid matt 15 hely.
Helman Region thanglada. LETO perperson in a double room including breakfast, dimine haffets and some. Valid until the end of the mutuar sexson.

Sharro El-Sheikh Macroot. LE240 for a single or double room including buffet breakfast, service charge and taxes, Valid until 31 July. Charpin Hold. LE190 for a double room and LE430 for a single room including breakfast. Valid until the end of lane.

Sharm El-Sheikh Misvenpick Hotel. LE200 for a single and LE250 for a double room in the front by the solutioning pool. The hotel offers LE160 for a single and LE200 for a double room in the back or sports area, Prices include buffet breakfast, service charge and taxes. Valid until the end of July.

Travel algencies

Travel agencies are offering various packages both huide and anticle Egypulais humans.

Visualings Teatric A trip to Nice is LRLASS for I long, Plese and London is LESASS for 15 days, Soals and Par-naged in Edition for 11 days, Athens and Bhadhe is LESASS for 16 days, Parts and Landon is LEASSS for 15 days, Ryma, Floresco, Vanice is LEASSS for 18 days, and Sansanana. LEA, 190 for 18 days and Singapore, LEA, 190 for 18 days and Singapore, Tokyo, Hang Kang, Bangkok is \$3,335 for 19 days. Prices for a special craise around the Meditorranean in delicar boars start from \$1,382 for 8 days.

Earnak town is organizing trips to Marsa Matrons for I days in over the hotels on a half board basis at prices stepting from LETA. The company is due offering trips to issuehed for I days at prices storing from LETA.

EGYPT AIR

Telephone numbers of EGYPT AIR offices in governorates: 324836-324735

Also Simbel Sales Office: Alexandria Offices: Rand: Glenc Airport Office:

Aswan Office:

Airport Office:

Airport Office:

Zekazik Office:

4833357-4828778 5865461-5865434

459387-486568

380561783

349829-349839/7

4218464-4227888-4282837-4281388 315000/1/2/3/4

Activit Conce: 323151-322711-324000-329407 Marsoura Office: 363978-363733 Hurghada Office:

443591.4 Airport Office: 442883-443597 Ismailia Office: 328937-221951-221951/2-328936 Letter Office: 3835891/2/3/4

Luxor Office Karnak: 382364 Merry Matroph Office: 9343% Morenia Cilice (Shebia El Konn): 233302-233523-233522

New Yelley Office: 153/91695 Fort Said Office: 224129-222878-228921 Fort Said Office Karnak: 232233-239978 Sharm El Sheikh Office: 608314-600409 Airort Office:

Taba Office: 368/530010-530011 Luci. 5753620 Tanta Office 311750/31178

Buried Fatimid ancestors found in a newly discovered funerary complex will soon be subject to DNA testing, reports Omayma Abdel-Latif "We know that the Caliph and his family arrived in Cairo in 973 and that they brought with them the remains of their ancestors in wooden coffins.

tombs of the Fatimid era. These we have now found," said French archaeologist Roland-Pierre Gayraud. So far, two For the past eleven years, he has been excavating Islabi Antar's Al-Qarafa Al-Kubra — a cemetery located on the plateau to the extreme south of Al-Fustat. It was only this season, however, that his decade-long work was brought to

"All the roads were paved with stone. There

were numerous gardens, a carefully maintained water system and we found a number of decorative stuccos," Gayraud said, adding that the Fatimid necropolis contains the families of Egypt's Fatimid rulers and the remains of their ancestors brought from North Africa when they settled in Egypt and ruled from 969 to 1171AD.

Three coffins were found in a large vault sur-



although the plateau Amember of the Fatimid family wrapped in a piece of Tiraz with Koranic verses

skeletal remains are articulated but the lower are in complete disarray. Other burials in the complex are individual wooden coffins placed in crypts. Several are equipped with embroidered tiraz (strouds) of fine silk — a special covering

"Nobody could buy the tiraz fabric at the time. It was officially reserved for the caliphs and the vizirs who might have presented them as gifts to favoured ones," said Gayrand who surmises that

high-ranking members of the Fatimid family were buried in the mausoleum, even though caliphs were usually buried in Turba Za'afaran or Hadra al-Sharifa to the north of Al-Fustat Gayraud and his team were surprised to find a number of wooden -loo ditiw anifloo lective burials some containing men and women

- a practice that

runs against the

flight schedules; they can just grab an air taxi. Sherine Nasr reports

of Al-Qarafa Al-Kubra contains many monumental tombs, funerary mosques and saints' mausoleum. In the coffins, the first layers of except to suggest that lack of space was perhaps the reason they had to cram the dead next to each other," he said.

Another mystery surrounds the identities of some of the remains. The body of an old woman found in one tomb may be that of the queen mother. In another tomb, 17 women are buried along with unboth fetuses. And a man with a beard dyed red from henra was found wrapped in three shrouds bearing the name Al-Muezz.

In the main mausoleum, Gayraud found a collection of bodies: "The remains of ancestors brought in from Tunisia," be said, adding that he will examine some of the skeletons in Paris, where they will be sent to undergo DNA testing to determine their lineage.

The excavation in the area of Istabl Antar, according to Abdallab El-Attar, head of the Islamic excavations department at the Superson Country of the

ic excavations department at the Supreme Council of Amiquities (SCA), is beneficial to history: the area is providing enormous quantities of well-preserved material and is shedding light on the little-known early centuries of Islam. The discoveries are providing some indication of the urban character of early Al-Fustat," he added, "and the study of the tombs and functary rites is throwing light on the contrast between theory and real practice."

Among the other finds Gayrand has come across is the undst ancient but incomplete mosque site known in Egypt dating back to the mid-eighth century. It includes a finished prayer

"The service was first introduced in Egypt in the early 1980s,

but it has never been as well organised or effective as during the last two years," said Mohsen Salaheddin, captain of one of the

As the door opens to more foreign investments in Egypt, many

tourist companies have found it profitable to operate such planes, for both tourists and businessmen. "Foreigners are quite familiar

with air taxis because the service was established in Europe a

long time ago," said Salaheddin. Although businessmen are es-

pecially targetted, attractive clients include "large families or

groups who wish to travel to different destinations in the shortest

time possible," said Mohab Akhnoukh of one tourist company, Call a tourist company, find your way to the airport and climb aboard an air taxi — usually a small first-class ten-scater airplane equipped with a toilet, fridge, satellite communication and meal adding that private flights are chesper than sirline flights in such

Customers pay only for hours in flight and the air taxi is hired on an hourly basis. "Time spent waiting for landing and take-off is free," said Solaheddin. When the aircraft is hired for several days, customers are charged on a daily basis.

Air taxis primarily make domestic flights. The most frequent destinations are Hurghada, Sharm El-Sheikh, Luxor and Abu Simbel. They can also be hired to travel as far as Jordan, Greece and

A study is now being carried out by tourist companies who own

aircraft with a view to stabilising the cost of the service. "Profit-

making is not our ultimate goal at present. We'd rather have the

service well established in Egypt first," said Salah El-Din, adding

that an taxis are extremely expensive in Europe. We need to take advantage of this fact to promote our services, especially these days when businessmen are coming to Egypt." The latest additions to the air services are two ambulances that fly the sick to the nearest hospitals, anywhere in the country. They

are compact intensive care units with a bed, oxygen mask and attendant doctor. Two other doctors are on call 24 hours a day.

The service will prove most useful to fourists involved in sea

niche.

"The service will prove most useful to fourists involved in sea sports in the newly developed areas of the Red Sea and Sinai," said Akhnoukh. "If a diver should need emergency treatment, the air sambulance will be vital."

Both the air taxis and ambulances depart from airports nationwide. The control tower is informed of the flight plans one hour before sirrival and passengers' names, passport numbers and flight routes are reported to the airport authorities before take-off.

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Time-conscious professionals and tourists are no longer confined to EgyptAir

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in last week's crucial match against Ahli has had repercussions probably undreamed of by the players. In fact the fall-out from their decision, has proved to be

just as dramatic at the match itself. Within 48 hours of the defeated Zam-Within 48 hours of the defeated Zamalek side quitting the pitch five minutes before the final whistle, amidst allegations of biased refereing the face of Egyptian football had undergone a major change. Gone were the old Zamalek board of directors. Gone too, the board of the Egyptian Football Federation (EFF). Saved, according to supporters of Abdelmann Emera had of the Supporter. Moneim Emara, head of the Supreme Council for Youth and Sports (SCYS), was Zamalek's reputation, along with the club's place in the superleague.

Events began to unfold at an emergency meeting of the Zamalek board held the morning after their defeat. The team's protest had been based on a refusal to accept Ahli's second goal, which, Zamalek maintained, was offside. Hested arguments with the referee were to no avail, and, prompted by an unidentified member of the Zamalek camp, the team walked off the pitch. The referee waited, the team did not return, and Ahli took the match 2-0. In the cold light of day, Zamalek stuck that the referee chosen by the Egyptian federation had been biased. "Kadri Abdel-

Azim, the referee, is well-known to be an Ahlawi (Ahli fan) and his bias towards Ahli has been clear in certain matches," said Galal Ibrahim, ex-president of Zam-alek, "We told the EFF and Emara that we didn't want Abdel-Azim, but no one

By the end of the meeting, the board had come up with a strategy, which it released in a statement: a freeze on football in the Zamalek Club for all age groups, and total disassociation with the EFF. All Zamalek footballers who played for na-tional teams would have to leave those teams. All Zamalek coaches and administrators working in national teams would have to submit their resignation to the EFF, or Zamalek would never deal with them again. And Zamalek would withdraw from all events organised by the EFF until the federation agreed to a replay of the Ahli match with a foreign refbeen shown in various quarters, but when news of Zamalek's decision broke, Emara was besieged by phone calls and faxes, some from influential sources in Egypt and the Arab countries. Their message was clear something had to be done. Emara hardly hesitated. That same day he issued a statement amounting the dis-solution of the board of directors of both the Zamalek Club and the EFF.

According to Emara, the decision to dissolve the federation was based on the failure of the board to run Egyptian soccer, as was evident in the Ahli-Zamalek incident. "Unfortunately, this was obvious to everyone during the Ahli-Zamalek match," explained Emara. "It was the federation's failure which led to the chaos and confusion. The SCYS, being the of-ficial authority responsible for sport in Egypt has been very patient with this fed-eration. It has made a lot of errors over the past few years, but this was the final straw. We could no longer tolerate it because it could have led to a situation

ections were in three months time, so his decision would not have a long-term impact on the EFF. Until that time, a five-member committee, appointed by Emara, will look after the federation's affairs. The committee consists of Mohamed El-Siagi as president, assisted by Mahmoud El-Khatib, Ibrahim Youssef, Qadri Abdel-Halim and Farag Bayoumi.

The dismissed former president of the EFF, Dahshoury Harb, received the news in Hurghada, where he bad gone with his family the day after the match. He was in-formed of the decision as he stepped off a boat after a fishing trip.

Stunned by Emara's decision, Harb told reporters, "I am really surprised by the SCYS's reaction to this matter, the whole situation has been fabricated by the Zamalek Club. Dissolving the federation is illogical and illegal. It is the SCYS's interference in federation policy, taking the side of the clubs instead of backing the federations in applying the regulations,

which is largely responsible for the de-terioration in Egyptian sport."

All he had wanted, he added, was to re-

main in post long enough to see Zamalek relegated from the superleague to the first division. Relegation is a punishment facing any team which walks out of a match.

Meanwhile, temporary federation President Mohamed El-Siagi is modest in his aspirations for his new role. The league will resume as previously scheduled and be doesn't plan any major changes. "It would be unfair, and also useless, for me to be taking decisions in a matter of bours, changing the clubs' preparations and schedules," he remarked. "My task comes at a crucial time. The comm and I have a hard job ahead of us and not much time to do it. We will exert all our efforts to make it a success."

Their task will be made easier, perhaps, by the other haif of Emara's two-pronged attack: the dissolving of the board of the Zamalek Club. By laying the blame on the shoulders of the board, rather than the

When Zamalek walked out of last week's match against Ahli, they began a chain of events leading to the dismissal of the board of directors of both the club and the Egyptian Football Federation. Inas Mazhar and Nashwa Abdel-Tawab tell the story to their position of the previous night —

Concern over the match had already that the referee chosen by the Egyptian both the Egyptian provided a new committee for the club, consisting of Kamal Darwish as club president, and Abdel-Aziz Qabil, Mabnus the referee chosen by the Egyptian sport."

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At a press conference, Emara explained his position regarding the rebel club. By walking out, Emara said, Zamalek had put its reputation on the line. And by issuing their statement, the board of committee was putting an end to Zamalek's existence in the superleague. "This is not what the Egyptians want," stressed Emara. "I tried as best I could to prevent a disaster which could have affected Egypt on all levels."

Feelings at grassroots level are mixed. Many Zamalek fans are still angry. After both the defeat and Emara's decision, fans gathered outside the club, either to protest the defeat, the referening, or at what they saw as Emara's interference in internal club affairs.

But is Emara yet another thorn in Zamalek's side, or was he acting to save a great club, with an illustrious history and a bright future, which had put itself in danger of falling from grace?

Germany's golden goal



A GOLDEN Goal in the fourth minute of extratime has made

Germany the Euro 96 champions — the first time a major 🔋 championship has ever been decided under the Golden Goal rule, by which the first team to score in extra time wins the match, writes Eric Asquangha, It was also the first Golden Goal of the Euro % championship, a toomsment littered with cliffhanging finishes and excruciating penalty shootouts.

A 73,611-strong crowd, including Britain's Queen Elizabeth, Prime Minister John Major, Czech President Vaclay Havel and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl witnessed Sunday's final. The Czechs, who had started the championship at odds of 66-1, were the first to score, from a controversial 57th minute penalty by Patrik Berger following Matthias Sammer's foul on Karel Poborsky slightly outside the box. The equaliser came from German substitute Oliver Bierhoff, with a close-range header from Christian

Ziege's curing freekick. Both teams had near misses Four minutes before half-time, Kustz penetrated the Czech defence forcing Kouba to race off his line. The sting was taken out of Kantz's shot by the goalkeeper's body block, but it took a bicycle kick from a Czech defender to boot the ball out of danger. But perhaps the saddest miss of all was about two minutes before time, when substitute Vladimir Śmicer, jist back from his own wedding,

almost scored the winner.

But in the end the day was Germany's. After 90 minutes of play, the teams were back on the patch for extra time. Bierhoff, pinned down on the edge of the box, turned and shot through a narrow space in the Czech defence. Koobs, moving in the wrong direction, was just able to get his hand to the ball, but could only watch as the shot bounced off the post and trickled over the ine. The Golden Goal had been shot, and



Germany were Euro 96 champions. Germany's Markus Babel clashes with Pavel Kuka of the Czech Republic during the final of Euro 96 at Wembley Stadium in London (Photo: AP)

Olympic countdown

Global village

THE ATLANTA Committee for the Olympic Games is doing its best to ensure that athletes and officials participating in the 1996 Olympic Games are comfortably housed, and provided with as

many services as possible.

Participants will stay in eight Olympic villages, the largest of which is the Atlanta Olympic Village, located at the downtown campus of Georgia Tech.

Spanning 108 bectares, the Atlanta village is the largest in Olympic history and the first to be fully air-conditioned. Accommodation comprises 17 new apartment-style buildings, 25 renovated buildings and 33 renovated campus fraternity and sorority houses.

The village includes training sites for three sports — base-ball, athletics and tennis — and is conveniently located next to the boxing and water sports competition venues, which are at Georgia Tech.

Housing up to 15,000 Games participants and 9,500 staff and volunteers, and receiving hundreds of accredited visitors every day, the Atlanta Olympic Village will function as a

Athletes can take their mind off training and competition by enjoying a wide variety of recreational facilities, including a cinema, bowling alley, video areade, health club, recreational swimming pool, cafe and disco. Concerts and other performances are scheduled for the village's 33 days of operation, and the Atlanta village is also the site of the World Information Centre and World Wide Web Pavilion, where

Athletes will not need to leave the village to do their shopping. The village marketplace includes a department store, international newsstand, dry cleaner, hair salon, bank, post of-

fice and florist. More than 1.2 million meals will be prepared for village residents, as many as 60,000 a day when the Games are at their peak. The main dining ball, with 3,400 seats, will be

open 24 hours a day. And to cater for the spiritual wall of the athletes, there are separate worship areas for Budonist, Christians, Muslims and

Jews, with counselling and ministerial services available. The Atlanta Olympic Village also has its own transport system. Electrically-powered trams, bicycles and golf carts will be used to help residents move quickly from one village loca-

Government meeting

PRIME Minister Kamal El-Ganzouri and Abdel-Moneim Emara, head of the Supreme Council for Youth and Sports (SCYS), met with members of the Egyptian Olympic delegation on Monday. At the meeting, Hassan Mustafa, secretary-general of the Egyptian Olympic Committee, described various problems facing the delegation, mainly concerned with releasing the necessary sports equipment and clothing for the

As a result of the meeting, El-Ganzouri instructed Minister of Finance Mohieddin Gharib to personally look into this problem. In addition, El-Ganzouri and Emara agreed to grant the SCYS full authority to make decisions concerning the import of clothes for teams representing Egypt in international

Emara also took the opportunity to stress that, as a relatively new body, the SCYS would not take responsibility if the Olympic results turned out to be worse than expected. "We are doing our best to improve sports in Egypt," said Emara, "but we can't change sport in a day and a night." Meanwhile, El-Ganzouri urged the athletes to do their very best to achieve results which would satisfy the Egyptian public.

Mansoura meet Ahli in today's Cup Final. And for young Mansoura player Tamer Bagato, the game could be the first step on the road to football stardom, writes Abeer Anwar

Tamer Bagato never expected football stardom. Like lots of boys, he loved the game, and like lots of boys, he played on a chib team. He started playing for the Shams Club at the age of nine, but did not dedicate himself exclusively to footsquash just as much.

At the age of 12, Bagato was spot-ted by Ahli's junior coach during a friendly match, and offered a pla on their junior team. He stayed with Ahli, and was the team's top scorer from the age of 14 to 21.

Answer Salama, then head of the

national under-19 team, also recruited the young Bagato, and he went on to represent Egypt in India's Gandhi Tournament and the African Nations Juniors qualifications in Mauritius. He excelled in both events, and was the second highest scorer in the Mauritius competition, with only one goal difference behind the Cameroonian winner.

However; despite performances like these, Abli did not consider the young player first team material. This was a shock for me," recalls Bagato. "I decided to stop playing the game completely and I started to family and friends convinced him that he did indeed have a future in football, and that he should try his luck with another team.

"I went to Zamalek but their players' list was full," continued Bagato. But he struck lucky with Suez Canal and Mansoura. Both teams offered to take him. Bagato decided to sign with Mansoura for LE50,000. "Because I signed late, I had to stay on the substitutes' bench for a long time because the league tournament had already started and I was not used to playing with the team." Bagato explained, But, with time and help from Coach Hassan Megahed, he became one of the team's key players.

Being one of Mansonra's key players is not, one might think, a gateway to overnight fame and for-tune. But when Mansoura is matched against Zamalek, and when that Mansouran key player scores not one, but two, goals, thrusting his small town team into the Egyptian Cup finals, then he is the player everyone will be talking about the next day. This is what

happened to Bagato.
The Cup final itself has been post-

match will be both a team and a personal challenge - after all it was Ahli who had turned him down early in his career. While waiting for that match, Bagato has been able to gain some satisfaction when Mansours met Ahli in the league tournsment, by scoring the game's only

"I can't express the mixed feelings I had before the match," Bagato recalls. "It was a mixture of fear and happiness: fear because it was my first match against Ahli, and happiness because at last I had the chance to take on Ahli and show them that they had missed out on a good player when they refused to take me on."

Bagato's prediction of a Zamalck league victory turned out to be wrong But, needless to say, he is working hard to prevent Ahli win-ning the double.

At this stage it is hard for Bagato to think beyond today's Cup Final. But he has clearly given the future some thought, and he has big ambitions: "On the national level, I would like to join the national team," he said, "and on the international level, I would eventually hate even watching football." But. poned until 4 July. For Bagato, the "like to be a professional in Europe."



Egypt strikes African gold

The Egyptian team won eight medals with only six athletes at last week's All African Championships, reports Dalia El-Hennawy

The Egyptian athletics team made a good showing in the 10th All African Championships last week in Yaounde, Cameroon. With only six athletes, the team managed to bring home eight medals: one gold, three silver and four bronze. A total of 30 countries took part,

with Nigeria scoring an overwhelming victory, followed by Kenya and Tunisia.

Egypt's star of the event was shotputter Hanan Khaled, who took the gold medal, followed by Wafaa Baghdady in the silver medal position. Nagwa Ibrahim set a new Egyptian record in the five kilometres walk to win the silver with a time of 24:054, and Hassan El-Sayed won not one but two silver medals in the decathalon and the pole vault. Karima Meskin won bronze medals in both the 200

and 400 metres, and Henfy Abdel-Maqsoud took the bronze in the 400 metres hurdles. "We faced a lot of obstacles," commented Egyptian technical manager Hamdi El-Kafrawy after the championship "The rainy weather, which we weren't prepared for, the fact that some of our athletes couldn't attend,

and the food, which we weren't used to." But taking these disadvantages into account, El-Kafrawy was satisfied with his team's per-

formance. "I'm quite happy with the result, because I was looking more at the athletes' develop-ment rather than winning medals per se. Most of our athletes either achieved new personal records, new Egyptian records, or else won a

gold medal," he continued. "This means that they are gaining experience and shows that our training programme is going well, which is a good sign as far as the juniors are concerned. We're concentrating on the juniors at the moment because they are beginning to show great promise."

Exams were largely to blame for the absence of some of Egypt's key athletes, according to Ahed Atel, manager of the Egyptian Athletics Federation. Sherif El-Hennawy, Egyptian and African champion in the hammer throw was one such athlete. "He had been expected to win the gold," commented

'And Mohamed Sami, Egyptian champion in the 110 metres hurdles, was a sure thing for a bronze, as was Hatem Mersal in the long jump. We would certainly have come out better in the African ratings if they had been

Nevertheless, Atef added, Egypt would be participating in the East and Central African Championships in Uganda. This will be excellent competition, especially with the Ken-yan, Ethiopian, Uganda and Tanzanian champions taking part."

And, with an eye on preparing a team for the 2000 Olympics, plans are also afoot for the junior athletes to train in Stuttgard in Ger-

Edited by Inas Mazhar



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(I-r): Moments of dialogue with Sadat; heading a conference of the Arab Lawyers' Federation; receiving benediction from Pope Kirolos; advocating a case in court; campaigning for syndicate elections (photos: Al-Abram)

Ahmed El-Khawaga: The rallying cry

Summer by the sea? Well, maybe... Just a few loose ends to tie up first: there's the Bar Association, and freedom of speech, and that other trial — yes, the big one...



At ten, his workaholic schedule begins to wind down in preparation for the small hours of the night. It is time to relax, but never completely, really: there are always the inevitable phone calls - rounding up work from the Bar Association, or setting appointments with clients.

He smokes heavily, despite a history of heart trouble. At 67, his face has not lost its chubby lines; there are more black bairs on his head than white. But he never gave much thought to his health. Until a few years ago, be'd trek the four kilometres from his home in Giza down to his office at the Immobilia building on Sherif Street. But he lost the habit, bound in the neverending cycle of work, and weakened by his recurrent health crises.

A man comes in with cups of Turkish coffee. The atmosphere in the house has vastly changed over the past year and a half, since his wife Wafaa passed away. He lights a cigarette. "It is not easy. after forty years of living with someone, to be alone." He is brief. She was strong, sharing all his activities - central to the very fabric of his life He shifts his leg, nervously, betraying himself.

Her death came at a vulnerable moment, when he was facing what may have been the greatest crisis of his thirty-year career in the Bar Association. The Bar underwent sequestration last January by

virtue of a court sentence. The verdict ended a deadlock brought on by accouncil was guilty of financial malpractice and

monopolising the Bar was no sucal motives.

Although El-Khawaga and of the Bar, was appointed as one of its three sequestrators, he appealed the verdict. "I see what happened as an expression of beolute dysfunction. I warned the Brotherhor - council members that their attempts to monopolise the Bar, which has always been a national body - above any particular political affiliations - would bring

things to a head. Now they tell me I was right." El-Khawaga has been accused of partial responsibility for the Brotherhood's increasing hegemony over the council since the 1992 elec-tions. He turned a blind eye, his critics say, to the Brotherhood's obvious violations of syndicate regulations, despite his public denunciations of its practices - others would see his reluctance to take action as typical of his pragmatic power-

"To have brought things to a confrontation with any party inside the syndicate would only have deepened the split within it. I see that what I did was not compromise, but integration. It is this which enabled me, at this point, to arbitrate be-tween the different factions in the current dispute."

He is the interest-broker, his skill may have been one of the reasons for his phenomenal success as a contender in the Bar elections. He headed its council for eight terms, three of them in the '60s, and now, having exceeded the allotted number of times candidates can stand for re-election, is currently in

his last term.

Rom in El-Mahalla El-Kubra in 1929, Ahmed i-Khawaga and his generation of lawyers came after the grand masters of the liberal age. He was of a new breed, and perhaps one of a kind. His star rose, his political acumen found expression under Nasser. He was mercurial, nevertheless, adapting to changing exigencies and negotiating union and and the liberal '70s.

Academically brilliant and politically active during his university years, he graduated from the Fa-culty of Law in 1949. He belonged to the highly politicised student union as well as the Ward's youth organisation, the Wardist Vanguard.

His rise through the ranks of the Arab Socialist Union was meteoric, from the legal committee to the Committee of 100. A clever campaigner, he ran for parliament and became a member of the National Assembly (Magiis Al-Umma), then bead of the Bar in 1966. He quickly moved it into line with Nasser's socialist policies, pushing forth legislation which resulted in the admittance to the Bar of employees working in public-sector legal de-partments. He strengthened the Bar's subsidiary branches in the provinces, and was successful in

securing sources of funding. He became head of the Arab Lawyers' Federation in 1967, a position he has held ever since. Non-alignment and pan-Arabism were at their peak, and El-Khawaga headed delegations to various summits and peace conferences. In the turbulent days following Camp David, El-Khawaga worked to keep the federation in Cairo despite the Arab boycott of Egypt. For thirty years he balanced the federation's contending factions. He is "proud that, despite Sudan's re-cent attempts to have the federation moved, it still remains in Cairo."

Arrested in May 1971 during Sadat's "Corrective Revolution", he made a comeback in 1978, winning the Bar elections against the then head, Mustafa El-Barad'i.

Throughout the late '70s, El-Khawaga led a strong council representing an array of in-dependent. Nasserist, Marxist and Wafdist groups. It spearheaded opposition to the Camp David accords, and clashed with Sadat over "democracy and the syndicate's independence". The council

"There was exacerbation, and one responded. Sadat wanted to turn the Bar into a social club, but it was not possible because of its history, because of its great nationalist tradition," El-Khawaga says with feeling. It was the very first Egyptian syndicate, founded in 1912 by Ibrahim Pasha El-Hilbawi to establish equal status for Egyptian law-yers with respect to their foreign counterparts. It was headed by Saad Zaghloul, it led the national struggle against the British — by its nature, it could never have remained inward-looking."

El-Khawaga joined the new Wafd Party in the 70s — not a renunciation of his Nasserist sympathies, but a bit of nostalgia for the "old Wafd", the repository of the liberal democratic influences which formed his generation. In the '70s and '80s, he found a means of expressing his convictions. Since the mid-'70s, he has defended almost every single case involving freedom of expression and liberal values. He opposed the banning of One Thousand and One Nights when it came under on-slaught for its alleged "obscenity". He was one of Youssef Chahine's defendants in the case brought against The Immigrant, and also participated in the defence of university professor Nasr Hamed Abu Zeid, dragged to court for presenting academic research which Islamist groups considered he-

El-Khawaga has also been prominent, most often in his capacity as head of the Bar, in controversial political cases — most, but significantly not all, dear to the left. He was a lawyer for the defendants in the "Egypt's Revolution" case, which involved President Nasser's son Khaled. He was part of the defence of Soliman Khater, a soldier accused of killing Israeli tourists, who later died in prison. He contested the trial of civilians in military courts in cases brought against the Muslim Brotherhood.

El-Khawaga is often described as the supreme pragmatist: a Nasserist among Nasserists, a Wafof the ruling National Democratic Party (NDP). Charismatic, he has the capacity "to forge an empathetic bond with others". He has been described as exhibiting "fox-like cunning", combining gritty up-and-at-'em confrontation with deceptive flex-ibility. He takes criminal cases, rather than civil law where his heart really lies. Never authoritarian, he elicits compliance from his assistants with inimitable tact.

His command of the Arabic language belongs to

an almost-forgotten tradition. He is erudite, a brilliant speaker, difficult to confound, he keeps his adversaries on their toes in any public debate. But throughout his career, in the vely bitterest moments of public confrontation, he would stick to di-

alogue with his opponents, leaving bridges open. When his wife died, it was his adversaries who bore her coffin. Her fimeral was atended by over a thousand lawyers; tigers of every political stripe were present, across the spectrum from the opposition to the NDP.

When tension was exacerbated during the Bar's latest crisis, and he was almost broken by his personal loss, his friends told him to resign. Take a rest, they said, take a break from the strain. Your past record is enough; you can leave the syndicate honourably at a moment of impending dis-integration. El-Khawaga refused. Scaningly be-leaguered, he made a U-turn. No more confronta-tion: he became the mediator. Because of his legacy of past success, and because of all those bridges; thrown down over the years, he became the rallying point—the one individual able to juggle the contending factions and bring the Bar out of its historic impasse, steering it towards more balanced elections at the end of this year.

Perhaps when the task is done he will, as in summers past, spend August in Mamoura, by the sea. He prefers its pedestrian qualities to the exclusive resort his daughters took him to last year.

on one of the bandoo chairs set out every night in the garden of his small bungalow, ready to receive his visitors. He will always be a part of

things around him Clad in a white gclabiya, surrounded by lawyers, politicians, ministers and friends, he will sit unceremoniously --- a star.

Profile by Aziza Sami

Pack of Cards by Madame Sosostris



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There's not many people who can boast being given a magnificent garden as a wedding present, but that is exactly what my good friend and colleague Pascale Ghazaleh and independent researcher Mohamed Hakem got, even if it only was for the night of their wedding party. It was thanks to publisher/historian Maged Fa-rag that his spectacular Moharned Ali Club was the location for the party, made all the more magical against an idyllic backdrop of the Nile, sprawling gardens, palm trees and flowers and marble balustrades. It was an elegant yet casual affair, elegant enough to be a true wedding in every sense of the word, yet casevening long. The mood was so elated that nobody seemed to ual enough for the guests to let loose and really enjoy them-selves. A veritable dream for us

Weekly staff, whose idea of getting dressed up means putting on a clean shirt. We showed up in droves, ready for some serious partying Rumour had it that most people were pretty merry be-fore they showed up, and those who weren't long before they were; university friends and professors, colleagues and friends at work. artists and intellectuals galore were all as sparkling as they could possibly be. Every where I looked I saw old friends and familiar faces. Through-

out the evening I caught glimpses of, and chatted to. actress Mohsena Tawfiq, poet/songwriter Sayed Hegab, artist Mohamed Abla, political scientist Gamil Mattar, singer Khaled Geyonshi, artist Gamil Shafiq-whose daringly designed wedding invitation was something the guests would all

come - and his loveable wife Sola, caricaturist Raouf Ayad and radio/TV announcer Bothayna Kamel. Her husband, professor Emad Abu Ghazi, was just one of a school of professors and lecturers present including director of the Arab Research Centre Helmi Shaarawi. historians Mohamed El-Kordy, Nelly Hanna, Raonf Abbas and sociologist Abdel-Baset Abdel-Moeti. While some treated themselves to the delicious BBQ and pastries and others danced and mingled, some, including the bride's mother, colleague and friend Fayza Hassan, were more than happy to just beam the whole

mind that almost all the songs being played by the DJ were by Above: "Do you want another

Mohamed Left: Walker (right) and bead of USAID John

Mohamed Mounir or that the bride and groom - met with a bome-grown zaffa by three friends banging away at two tablas and vigorously shaking a tambourine -- were fashionably late (and, in a gorgeous white dress and black jeans and waistcost, rather fashionably dressed too). Good timing that it was,

business trip - they are both attending a conference there into a ready-made honeymoon. ♦ Every now and then I feel the need to give a little more to so-

the couple left yesterday for Paris where they will be turning a

ciety than just my graceful and charming presence, and decide to attend an event more for its substance than for its social value. My good deed for the month will be to attend the Arab Youth Forum's Training and Awareness conference, which was inaugurated by head of the Supreme Council for Youth and Sports Abdel-Moneim Emara, director of Cairo University Mufid Shehab and AUC's dep-uty head of Student Affairs Abdel-Khalek Allam yesterday at AUC. Held under the academic

auspices of secretarygeneral of the Arab League Esmat Abdel-Meguid and his special political advisor Nassif Hitti, the conference will bring together students from Arab and Egyptian universities. And believe me, dears, from what I've seen of previous student conferences such as this, I have no doubt that it will be a huge success. Head of the organising committee, Mohamed Radwan, tells me that this particular one aims to provide the appropri-ate environment for the exchange of ex-perience, knowledge

and culture - of which there is much, I'm stare -among the region's youth and provide them with the necessary skills to become future leaders and decision-makers in differ-

◆ Tired of business meetings and social obligations, US ambassador Edward Walker recently hosted a day of games, dancing and eating at the US Embassy for its Egyptian and American staff. And so it was to be that one summy afternoon, several improptu teams battled it out in the back yard of the premises for the worthy title of Toughest

Football Team in Garden City.

The games inevitably gave way to a hearty lunch, after which shiff members kept the embassy roking by showing off their singing talents through a roaring karaoke system, prompting thany of those watching to break ints uncontrollable jitterbugging

